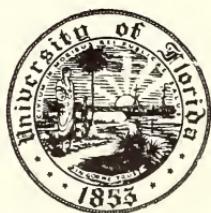


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READING CRITICALLY
IN THE FIELDS OF LITERATURE AND HISTORY

READING CRITICALLY

IN THE FIELDS OF LITERATURE

AND HISTORY

by Sylvia C. Kay, Ph.D.

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TEACHER'S GUIDE

This book has two aims: to supply much needed material in the field of critical reading; and to present this reading material in accordance with the newer methods evolving in our schools. These methods lay great stress on that important concomitant of all teaching, the development of democratic procedures. As an individual, the student must be stimulated to comprehensive and critical judgment; as a member of the group he must be initiated into democratic procedures in analysis and discussion.

In the classes where this material was first used experimentally, the method was employed as follows: the class first read the excerpt, with vocabulary helps from the teacher; then, as a group, they chose the facts they wished to consider as pertinent and set aside those they considered irrelevant. On contested issues a majority vote was decisive. Additional material on the development of this method can be found in: Spencer Brown's *They See for Themselves* (Harper and Brothers, New York); Witty and Kopel's *Reading and the Educative Process* (Ginn and Co., Boston); Salt's *Thinking Together* (National Council of Teachers of English).

The method as used in this book presents a definite teaching technique for the development of critical judgment and group thinking. This technique leads the pupil and the group gradually from simple reasoning to more complicated analysis. The book is divided into two sections (*Readings in the Field of Literature* and *Readings in the Field of History*). The two sections follow identical patterns, each being subdivided into four parts, which can be described as follows:

Part One—The pupil is taught first to analyze his own thoughts on the excerpt he has read. He is aided in arriving at partial and final conclusions by little bracketed helps (or hints) which experiments in class have shown to be necessary.

Part Two—The pupil is encouraged to compare his thoughts with those of another individual (the author of the excerpt). By this time he has had sufficient practice to arrive at his final conclusion without the little bracketed helps. His problem now is to decide whether his conclusion is the same as the author's.

Part Three—The pupil is led to compare the thoughts of two authors on the same subject. He has already learned to judge whether his conclusion is in agreement or in opposition to the author's. His task now is to weigh the conflicting or conforming viewpoints of two authors.

Part Four—Last of all, the pupil attempts the most difficult task: finding the fallacies or misrepresentations in the thoughts of others. Two techniques are developed in this part. The first, and simpler, requires the student to judge the validity of the author's conclusions by continued investigation, i.e., by drawing on facts other than those presented in the excerpt. The second, and more difficult, involves dividing excerpts at crucial points and making the student decide whether deliberate omission of certain paragraphs would change or distort the author's message. This last technique is especially important in these days of digests, partial quotation of speeches, etc.

The excerpts have been chosen carefully to offer the student the opportunity of sampling works that represent many periods, many viewpoints, and many styles of writing.

LITERATURE

PART ONE

*The Ability to Form Our
Own Conclusions*

LESSON 1

**A LETTER TO
MADAME BRILLON**

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

. . . I am charmed with your description of Paradise and with your plan of living there; and I approve much of your conclusion, that in the meantime we should draw all the good we can from this world. In my opinion, we might all draw more good from it than we do, and suffer less evils, if we would take care not to give too much for whistles. For to me it seems that most of the unhappy people we meet with become so by neglect of that caution.

You ask what I mean: You love stories and will excuse my telling one of myself.

When I was a child of seven years old, my friends, on a holiday, filled my pockets with coppers. I went directly to a shop where they sold toys for children; and, being charmed with the sound of a *whistle*, that I met by the way in the hands of another boy, I voluntarily offered and gave all my money for one. I then came home, and went whistling all over the house, much pleased with my *whistle*, but disturbing all the family. My brothers, and sisters, and cousins, understanding the bargain I had made, told me I had given four times as much for it as it was worth; put me in mind what good things I might have bought with the rest of the money; and laughed at me so much

for my folly, that I cried with vexation; and the reflection gave me more chagrin than the *whistle* gave me pleasure.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

.....
.....
(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts add up to the following conclusions:

- a.) [Mrs. Brillon's idea]
- b.) [what Franklin says keeps us from drawing more good from world]
- c.) [how much Franklin paid for whistle]
- d.) [what price paid for whistle did to Franklin]

3. Therefore, my general conclusion is that we would all

LESSON 2

THE SHORTEST WAY WITH THE DISSENTERS

DANIEL DEFOE

Sir Roger L'Estrange tells us a story in his Collection of Fables, of the cock and the horses. The cock was gotten to roost in the stable, among the horses, and there being no racks or other conveniences for him, it seems he was forced to roost upon the ground. The horses jostling about for room and putting the cock in danger of his life, he gives them this grave advice: "Pray gentlefolks let us stand still, for fear we should tread upon one another."

There are some people in the world, who, now they are un-

perched, and reduced to an equality with other people, and under strong and very just apprehensions of being further treated as they deserve, begin with Aesop's cock to preach up peace and union, and the Christian duties of moderation, forgetting that when they had the power in their hands, those graces were strangers in their gates!

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

.....
.....
(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts add up to the following conclusions:

- a.) [the trouble the cock had]
- b.) [how the cock tried to protect himself]
- c.) [trouble some people have]
- d.) [how they try to protect themselves]
- e.) [what they did when they were in power]

3. Therefore, my general conclusion is that people out of power

.....
.....

LESSON 3

“A MEDITATION UPON A BROOMSTICK”

JONATHAN SWIFT

The single stick, which you now behold ingloriously lying in that neglected corner, I once knew in a flourishing state in a forest; it was full of sap, full of leaves, and full of boughs; but now in vain does the busy art of man pretend to vie with nature,

by tying that withered bundle of twigs to its sapless trunk; it is now, at best, but the reverse of what it was, a tree turned upside down, the branches on the earth, and the root in the air; it is now handled by every dirty wench, condemned to do her drudgery, and, by a capricious kind of fate, destined to make her things clean, and be nasty itself; at length, worn out to the stumps in the service of the maids, it is either thrown out of doors, or condemned to the last use of kindling a fire. When I beheld this, I sighed, and said within myself: "Surely mortal man is a broomstick!" Nature sent him into the world strong and lusty, in a thriving condition, wearing his own hair on his head, the proper branches of this reasoning vegetable, until the axe of intemperance has lopped off his green boughs, and left him a withered trunk; he then flies to art, and puts on a periwig valuing himself upon an unnatural bundle of hairs . . . that never grew on his head; but now should this our broomstick pretend to enter the scene, proud of those birchen spoils it never bore, and all covered with dust, . . . we should be apt to ridicule and despise its vanity. Partial judges that we are of our own excellences, and other men's defaults!

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts add up to the following conclusions:

- a.) [what the broomstick once was]
- b.) [condition it is now in]
- c.) [what finally happens to it]
- d.) [what man is like at first]
- e.) [what happens to him]
- f.) [what he does to correct conditions]

g.)
[how similar action of broomstick would be considered]

3. Therefore, my general conclusion is that man tries to repair
.....

LESSON 4

“THE GARRET”

SAMUEL JOHNSON

Nothing has more retarded the advancement of learning than the disposition of vulgar minds to ridicule and vilify what they cannot comprehend. All industry must be excited by hope; and as the student often proposes no other reward to himself than praise, he is easily discouraged by contempt and insult. He who brings with him into a clamorous multitude the timidity of recluse speculation, and has never hardened his front in public life, or accustomed his passions to the vicissitudes and accidents, the triumphs and defeats of mixed conversation, will blush at the stare of petulant incredulity, and suffer himself to be driven, by a burst of laughter, from the fortresses of demonstration. The mechanist will be afraid to assert before hardy contradiction, the possibility of tearing down bulwarks with a silkworm's thread; and the astronomer of relating the rapidity of light, the distance of the fixed stars, and the height of the lunar mountains.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:
.....
.....
(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts add up to the following conclusions:
a.)
[what people do when they cannot understand]
b.)
[what this does to timid students]

c.)

[what this does to knowledge itself]

3. Therefore, my general conclusion is that because of ignorance

LESSON 5

“CASTLES IN SPAIN”¹

JOHN GALSWORTHY

We, too, dream, no doubt—not always with a Freudian complex—and our dreams have results, such as the Great Dam at Assuan, the Roosevelt Dam in Arizona, the Woolworth Building, the Forth Bridge, the Power Works at Niagara—not yet the greatest of them all, the Panama Canal (which actually took one-tenth of the time it took the Sons of Darkness to achieve Seville Cathedral). But all these were dreamed and fabricated out for immediate material benefits.

The old builders of pyramids, mosques, and churches, built for no physical advantage in this life. They carved and wrought and slowly lifted stone on stone, for remote, and, as they thought, spiritual ends.

We moderns mine and forge, and mason up our monuments, to the immediate profit of our bodies. . . . Have we raised anything really great in stone or brick for a mere idea, since Christopher Wren built St. Paul’s Cathedral?

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts add up to the following conclusions:

a.)

[what we have achieved today]

¹ From *Castles in Spain and Other Screeds*. Copyright, 1927, by Charles Scribner’s Sons. Reprinted by special permission.

- b.)
[what the ancients achieved]
- c.)
[the purpose behind the work of the ancients]
- d.)
[the purpose behind the work today]

3. Therefore, my general conclusion is that man today

LESSON 6

“COMPENSATION”

RALPH WALDO EMERSON

... I was lately confirmed in these desires by hearing a sermon at church. The preacher, a man esteemed for his orthodoxy, unfolded in the ordinary manner the doctrine of the Last Judgment. He assumed that judgment is not executed in this world; that the wicked are successful; that the good are miserable; and then urged from reason and from Scripture a compensation to be made to both parties in the next life. No offense appeared to be taken by the congregation at this doctrine. As far as I could observe, when the meeting broke up, they separated without remark on the sermon.

Yet what was the import of this teaching? What did the preacher mean by saying that the good are miserable in the present life? Was it that houses and lands, offices, wine, horses, dress, luxury, are had by unprincipled men, whilst the saints are poor and despised; and that a compensation is to be made to these last hereafter, by giving them the like gratifications another day—bank stock and doubloons, venison and champagne? This must be the compensation intended; for, what else? Is it that they are to have leave to pray and praise? To love and serve men? Why, that they can do now. The legitimate inference the disciple would draw was: “We are to have such a good time as the sinners have now”; or, to push it to its extreme import:

"you sin now; we shall sin by-and-by; we would sin now, if we could; not being successful, we expect our revenge tomorrow."

The fallacy lay in the immense concession that the bad are successful; that justice is not done now. The blindness of the preacher consisted in deferring to the base estimate of the market of what constitutes a manly success, instead of confronting and convicting the world from the truth; announcing the presence of the Soul; the omnipotence of the Will; and so establishing the standards of good and ill, of success and falsehood, and summoning the dead to its present tribunal.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts add up to the following conclusions:

a.) [what preacher said about judgment]

b.) [what such teaching signified in regard to compensation by worldly wealth]

c.) [what Emerson thought compensation really was]

d.) [what Emerson thought the preacher had stooped to]

e.) [what Emerson thought the preacher should have pointed out]

3. Therefore, my general conclusion is that preachers stress the promise of worldly goods as compensation in the next world, while they should

HISTORY OF THE WAR OF THE SUCCESSION IN SPAIN

Reviewed by THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY

The Castilian [Spaniard] of those times was to the Italian what the Roman, in the days of the greatness of Rome, was to the Greek. The conqueror [Spain] had less ingenuity, less taste, less delicacy of perception, than the conquered [Italy]; but far more pride, firmness, and courage, a more solemn demeanor, a stronger sense of honor. The subject [Italy] had more subtlety in speculation, the ruler [Spain] more energy in action. The vices of the former were those of a coward; the vices of the latter were those of a tyrant. It may be added that the Spaniard, like the Roman, did not disdain to study the arts and the language of those whom he oppressed. A revolution took place in the literature of Spain, not unlike that revolution which, as Horace tells us, took place in the poetry of Latium: “Capta ferum victorem cepit.” The slave took prisoner the enslaver. The old Castilian ballads gave place to sonnets in the style of Petrarch, and to heroic poems in the stanza of Ariosto, as the national songs of Rome were driven out by imitations of Theocritus, and translations from Menander.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

.....

.....

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts lead up to the following conclusions:

a.)

[Castilian contrasted with whom]

b.)

[good points of the conqueror]

c.)

[good points of the conquered]

d.)

[bad points of the conqueror]

e.) [bad points of the conquered]
f.) [what the loser did to the winner]

3. Therefore, my general conclusion is that Italy really conquered Spain, because

LESSON 8

“ON WIT”

SYDNEY SMITH

To begin at the beginning of this discussion, it is plain that wit concerns itself with the relations which subsist between our ideas: . . . Therefore the first limit to be affixed to that observation of relations which produces the feeling of wit is that they must be relations which excite surprises. If you tell me that all men must die, I am very little struck with what you say, because it is not an assertion very remarkable for its novelty; but if you were to say that man was like a time glass—that both must run out, and both render up their dust—I should listen to you with more attention, because I feel something like surprise at the sudden relation you had struck out between two such apparently dissimilar ideas as a man and a time glass.

Surprise is so essential an ingredient of wit, that no wit will bear repetition—at least the original electrical feeling produced by any piece of wit can never be renewed. . . . Punning grows upon everybody, and punning is the wit of words. . . . I have mentioned puns. They are, I believe, what I have denominated them—the wit of words. They are exactly the same to words which wit is to ideas, and consist in the sudden discovery of relations in language. A pun, to be perfect in its kind, should contain two distinct meanings: the one common and obvious, the other more remote; and in the notice which the mind takes

of the relation between these two sets of words the pleasure of a pun consists. . . . I have very little to say about puns; they are in very bad repute, and so they ought to be. The wit of language is so miserably inferior to the wit of ideas, that it is very deservedly driven out of good company.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:
.....
.....

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts add up to the following conclusions:

- a.) [first thing wit must have]
- b.) [second thing wit must have]
- c.) [what punning is]
- d.) [what true wit is]
- e.) [why wit is above punning]

3. Therefore, my general conclusion is that true wit must

LESSON 9

“IN AN AMERICAN FACTORY”²

STOYAN PRIBICHEVICH

I came to America in 1934 as a political exile who could hardly speak English. In 1932 I had become involved in Yugoslav university students' riots and in printing pamphlets against King Alexander's dictatorship. I was twenty-seven years of age then, a doctor of political science, and a practicing lawyer in

² From *Harper's Magazine*, September 1938. Reprinted by special permission.

Belgrade. Before the political police could seize me, I managed to cross the Yugoslav frontier disguised as a peasant. I went to Paris where I spent two years helping my father—a former member of the Yugoslav cabinet and also an exile—to write a book on democracy. . . .

Coming from France, which to me seemed a thoroughly logical country, I was confused by the many incomprehensible contradictions of American life. Yet I found to my astonishment that my American friends thought the French were a crazy people. When they asked me why France has more than twenty political parties, I countered, "Why do you jam Roosevelt, Glass, and Hague all in one party, and Hoover, Borah, and La Guardia together in the other?" I could not understand why the country with the largest worker's population in the world should have no labor party; why centralization should be advocated by liberals, and States' Rights defended by big corporations; why Tom Mooney should be in jail for murder and Al Capone for tax evasion; why aliens should be regarded with contempt by the sons of aliens; why religion should be separated from the state, and Darwin's theory of evolution banned by one state in the name of the Bible; why bishops should oppose child-labor regulation; why gangsters and kidnappers should grow up next door to the strange prophets and utopians of the Share-the-Wealth, Epic, Social and Justice, and Old-Age Pension plans; why the dictatorships of Louisiana and Jersey City should flourish under a democratic federal Constitution.

Only gradually did I begin to grasp the deep significance of American inconsistencies which so strike the set, static mind of a European; to realize that they were mere symptoms of growth, showing a slow trend of the nation toward ever-increasing democracy.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts add up to the following conclusions:

- \ a.)
[why men came to America]
- \ b.)
[what Americans thought of France]
- \ c.)
[what he thought of Americans]
- \ d.)
[what conclusions he reached]

3. Therefore, my general conclusion is that to a foreigner many things seemed contradictory because

PART TWO

*The Ability to
Discover the Author's Conclusion*

LESSON 1

“THE 51ST DRAGON”¹

HEYWOOD BROUN

Of all the pupils at the Knight school Gawaine le Coeur-Hardy was among the least promising. He was tall and sturdy but his instructors soon discovered that he lacked spirit. He would hide in the woods when the jousting class was called, although his companions and members of the faculty sought to appeal to his better nature by shouting to come out and break his neck like a man. Even when they told him that the lances were padded, the horses no more than ponies, and the field unusually soft for late autumn, Gawaine refused to grow enthusiastic. The Headmaster and the Assistant Professor of Pleasance were discussing the case one spring afternoon and the Assistant Professor could see no remedy but expulsion. “No,” said the Headmaster, as he looked out at the purple hills which ringed the school, “I think I’ll train him to slay dragons.”

“He might be killed,” objected the Assistant Professor.

“So he might,” replied the Headmaster, brightly; but he added more soberly, “We must consider the greater good. We are responsible for the formation of this lad’s character.”

¹ From *Seeing Things At Night*, published by Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York. Reprinted by special permission.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:
.....
.....
(Decided by group discussion.)
2. These facts are told to make me come to a certain conclusion. This conclusion is that to the Headmaster the important thing was to teach not
but
3. I believe that it is the author's conclusion as well as mine; therefore, I believe his purpose was to

LESSON 2

ADVENTURES IN CONTENTMENT²

DAVID GRAYSON

Well it was amazing once we began talking not of books but of life, how really eloquent and human he became. From being a distant and uncomfortable person, he became at once like a near neighbor and friend. It was strange to me—as I have thought since—how he conveyed to us in a few words the essential emotional note of his life. It was no violin tone, beautifully complex with harmonies, but the clear simple voice of the flute. It spoke of his wife and his baby girl and his home. The very incongruity of detail—he told us how he grew onions in his back yard—added somehow to the homey glamor of the vision which he gave us. The number of his house, the fact that he had a new cottage organ, and that the baby ran away and lost herself in 17th Street were all, curiously, fabrics of his emotion.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:
.....
.....
(Decided by group discussion.)

² Published by Doubleday & Company, Inc. Reprinted by special permission.

2. These facts are told to make me come to a certain conclusion. This conclusion is that the poetry of a person's soul is
3. I believe that it is the author's conclusion as well as mine; therefore, I believe his purpose was to

LESSON 3

A LETTER TO FLAUBERT

GEORGE SAND

One must write for all those who have a thirst to read, and who can profit by good reading. Then one must go straight to the most elevated morality within one's self, and not make a mystery of the moral and profitable meaning of one's book.

That desire to depict things as they are, the adventures of life as they present themselves to the eye, is not well thought out, in my opinion. Depict inert things as a realist, as a poet, it's all the same to me, but when one touches on the emotions of the human heart, it is another thing. You cannot abstract yourself from this contemplation for man, this is yourself, and men, that is the reader. Whatever you do, your tale is a conversation between you and the reader. If you show him the evil coldly, without ever showing him the good, he is angry. He wonders if it is he that is bad, or if it is you. You work however to rouse him and to interest him; you will never succeed if you are not roused yourself, or if you hide it so well that he thinks you indifferent.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

.....

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts are told to make me come to a certain conclusion. This conclusion is that a successful novelist must

3. I believe that it is the author's conclusion as well as mine; therefore, I believe her purpose was to show me that only when

LESSON 4

MARTIN CHUZZLEWIT

CHARLES DICKENS

“Here’s the *Sewer!*” cried another. “Here’s the New York *Sewer!* Here’s some of the twelfth thousand of to-day’s *Sewer*, with the best accounts of the markets, and all the shipping news, and four whole columns of country correspondence, and a full account of the Ball at Mrs. White’s last night, where all the beauty and fashion of New York was assembled; with the *Sewer’s* own particulars of the private lives of all the ladies that was there! Here’s the *Sewer!* Here’s some of the *Sewer’s* exposure of the Wall Street Gang and the *Sewer’s* exclusive account of a flagrant act of dishonesty committed by the Secretary of State when he was eight years old; now communicated at a great expense, by his own nurse. Here’s the *Sewer!* Here’s the New York *Sewer* in its twelfth thousand, with a whole column of New Yorkers to be shown up with their names printed! Here’s the *Sewer’s* article upon the Judge that tried him, day before yesterday, for libel, and the *Sewer’s* tribute to the independent Jury that didn’t convict him, and the *Sewer’s* account of what they might have expected if they had! Here’s the *Sewer*, here’s the *Sewer!* Here’s the wide-awake *Sewer*; always on the look-out; the leading Journal of the United States, now in the twelfth thousand, and still a printing off. Here’s the New York *Sewer!*”

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts are told to make me come to a certain conclusion. This conclusion is that newspapers
.....
3. I believe that it is the author's conclusion as well as mine; therefore, I believe his purpose was to show how certain newspapers transgress
in order

LESSON 5

“FIRST IMPRESSIONS IN PARIS”

HEINRICH HEINE

What strange creatures men are. In our own country we growl, and every stupidity, every perverseness, makes us angry; and, like boys, we wish every day to run away from it into the wide wide world, but when we do go into the wide wide world it is too wide for us and we long secretly for the narrow stupidities and perverseness of home, and want to be sitting once more in the old familiar room, and to build us a house behind the stone, and cower there in the warmth, and read. So it was with me on my journey to England. Hardly had I lost sight of the German coast than there sprang to life in me a curious after love for those Teutonic nightcaps and periwigs which I had just left so ill-humoredly, and when the Fatherland was gone from my sight I found it again in my heart.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

.....
.....
(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts are told to make me come to a certain conclusion. This conclusion is that we

3. I believe that it is the author's conclusion as well as mine; therefore, I believe his purpose was to show how

LESSON 6

“THE MODERN THEATER”³

LEONID ANDREYEF

Never were so many demands made on the theater, just as it was never before necessary for the individual to gratify so many desires. Suppose I am a woman and want to know how to dress? I go to the theater to learn this from the actresses and the other women in the audience. Suppose I grow heavy of thought and want stimulation? I go to the theater. Suppose my eyes have become tired because of lack of color in our home life, of the sameness and weariness of our streets, and I wish to go sight-seeing, to fill my eyes with a view of the sky and the sea, with strange and eternal beauty? I have not time to travel, and I have not the money, so, unconsciously, I go to the theater to get my vision of color and joy. Whether I want laughter or sadness, whether emotion or peace, I go to the theater for all. I demand everything from the theater. I damn the theater for everything.

With all this, what an absurdity is our ordinary theater with its stupid and confused staff and its varied and contradictory currents flowing from the auditorium to the stage—disconcerting the actors, making them suffer. At one moment a wise man may begin to listen intently while twenty fools begin to yawn or cough and snore. There are plenty of fools; the wise man shivers in unbearable torment, because to the wise there is nothing more sorrowful than the joy of fools.

There are many dramas that give offense to those who want

³ From *The New York Times*, October 5, 1919. Reprinted by special permission.

peace, distraction, and amusement; but there are too few dramas that offend those who hunger for emotion. One person may love to listen to beautiful speech, but it only annoys the chatterer. One may understand everything, and yet complain that this is very little—that there is not enough food for the mind. Another may understand absolutely nothing, yet he also complains and calls out “Nonsense!”

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts are told to make me come to a certain conclusion. This conclusion is that people expect
3. I believe that it is the author's conclusion as well as mine; therefore, I believe his purpose was to show that the theater

LESSON 7

MAIN CURRENTS IN NINETEENTH CENTURY LITERATURE⁴

GEORG BRANDES

When, however, the connection between literature and life is thus emphasized, the delineations and interpretations of men and their books by no means produce what we may call drawing-room history of literature. I go down to the foundations of real life, and show how the emotions which find their expression in literature arise in the human heart. And this same human heart is no still pool, no idyllic mountain lake. It is an ocean, with submarine vegetation and terrible inhabitants. Drawing-room

⁴ Published by The Macmillan Company, New York, 1905. Reprinted by special permission.

history of literature, like drawing-room poetry, sees in human life a drawing-room, a decorated ballroom—the furniture and the people alike polished, the brilliant illumination excluding all possibility of dark corners. Let those who choose to do so look at things thus; it is not my point of view. Just as the botanist must handle nettles as well as roses, so the student of literature must accustom himself to look with the unflinching gaze of the naturalist or the physician upon all the forms taken by human nature, in their diversity and their inward affinity. It makes the plant neither more or less interesting that it smells sweet or stings; but the dispassionate interest of the botanist is often accompanied by the purely human pleasure in the beauty of the flower.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts are told to make me come to a certain conclusion. This conclusion is that literature
3. I believe that it is the author's conclusion as well as mine; therefore, I believe his purpose was to show that it is necessary to have both

LESSON 8

EVERY MAN'S NATURAL DESIRE TO BE SOMEBODY ELSE⁵

SAMUEL CROTHERS

What of the lost arts of childhood, the lost audacities and ambitions and romantic admirations of adolescence? What be-

⁵ From *Readings in the Modern Essay* (ed. Edward Simpson Noyes). Copyright, 1933, by Houghton Mifflin Company. Reprinted by special permission.

comes of the sympathies which make us feel our kinship to all sorts of people? What becomes of the early curiosity in regard to things which were none of our business? We ask as Saint Paul asked of the Galatians: "Ye began well; who did hinder you?"

The answer is not wholly to our discredit. We do not develop all parts of our nature because we are not allowed to do so. Walt Whitman might exult over the Spontaneous Me. But nobody is paid for being spontaneous. A spontaneous switchman on the railway would be a menace to the traveling public. We prefer someone less temperamental.

As civilization advances and work becomes more specialized, it becomes impossible for anyone to find free and full development for all his natural powers in any recognized occupation. What then becomes of the other selves? The answer must be that playgrounds must be provided for them outside the confines of daily business. As work becomes more engrossing and narrowing, the need is more urgent for recognized and carefully guarded periods of leisure.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts are told to make me come to a certain conclusion. This conclusion is that all of us are
3. I believe that it is the author's conclusion as well as mine; therefore, I believe his purpose was to point out how necessary

MICROCOSMOGRAPHIE

JOHN EARLE

A child is a man in a small letter . . . He is nature's fresh picture newly drawn in oil, which time, and much handling, dims and defaces. His soul is yet a white paper unscrubbed with observations of the world, wherewith, at length, it becomes a blurred notebook. He is purely happy because he knows no evil, nor hath made means by sin to be acquainted with misery . . . His hardest labor is his tongue, as if he were loath to use so deceitful an organ; and he is best company with it when he can but prattle. We laugh at his foolish sports, but his game is our earnest; and his drums, rattles, and hobby horses, but the emblems and mockings of man's business . . . The elder he grows he is a stair lower from God; and, like his first father, much worse in his breeches. He is the Christian's example, and the old man's relapse; the one imitates his pureness, and the other falls into his simplicity. Could he put off his body with his little coat, he had got eternity without a burden, and exchanged but one heaven for another.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts are told to make me come to a certain conclusion. This conclusion is that a child is
3. I believe that it is the author's conclusion as well as mine; therefore, I believe his purpose was to show that man

PART THREE

*The Ability to Discover Biases
in the Conclusions of
Different Authors*

LESSON 1

[Excerpt A]

“ON FRIENDSHIP”

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

For friendship is nothing else than agreement in thought and feeling on all things, divine and human, accompanied by good will and affection, and I think that perhaps with the exception of wisdom, no better gift has come from the immortal gods to mankind. Some set riches first, others good health, others power, others preferment in office, and many even pleasure. But, really, this last belongs to beasts, and the former, too, are subject to failure and uncertain, and grounded not so much in our counsels as in the chance of fortune; while those who look to virtue for the highest good do admirable indeed, but this very virtue both begets friendship and keeps it, and without virtue friendship can in no wise exist.

[Excerpt B]

“FRIENDSHIP”

RALPH WALDO EMERSON

I chide society, I embrace solitude, and yet I am not so ungrateful as not to see the wise, the lovely, and the noble-

minded, as from time to time they pass my gate. Who hears me, who understands me, becomes mine—a possession for all time. Nor is nature so poor, but she gives me this joy several times, and thus we weave social threads of our own, a new web of relations; and, as many thoughts in succession substantiate themselves, we shall by-and-by stand in a new world of our own creation, and no longer strangers and pilgrims in a traditional globe. My friends have come to me unsought. The great God gave them to me. By oldest right, by the divine affinity of virtue with itself, I find them, or rather not I, but the Deity in me and in them, both deride and cancel the thick walls of individual character, relation, age, sex, and circumstance, at which he usually connives, and now makes many one.

1. The author of Excerpt A has told certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. His conclusion is that friendship exists because of the , and dies without it.
3. The author of Excerpt B has told certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

4. His conclusion is that friendship exists because
5. Therefore, these authors agree (disagree).

LESSON 2

[Excerpt A]

THOUGHTS FROM JOUBERT

JOSEPH JOUBERT

Education should be tender and rigorous, not cold and flabby. Children should be rendered reasonable, but not reasoners.

The first thing to teach them is that it is reasonable for them to obey and unreasonable for them to dispute. Otherwise education would spend itself in bandying argument, and everything would be lost if the teacher were not a clever caviller.

Place before children nothing but what is simple, lest you spoil their taste, and nothing that is not innocent, lest you spoil their heart.

[Excerpt B]

“TEACHERS AND CONTRO- VERSIAL QUESTIONS”¹

ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN

. . . The pupil must know, and know sympathetically, what has been thought and said on his problem. He must learn the ways of scholarly inquiry, must take advantage of the work which other minds have done and are doing. And yet such scholarly inquiry is only preparatory to his main task. He must, in a society of free discussion, make up his own mind, form his own judgment, take his own stand. And the primary task of the teacher is to help him in developing the power to do that. How shall the teacher give that help? . . . Real teaching is guidance in the technique of judgment-making. And that guidance can be given only as teacher and pupil play the game together, only by contagion, only by companionship in an activity which both are carrying on. . . .

1. The author of Excerpt A has told certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. His conclusion is that education of children consists of

¹ From *Harper's Magazine*, June 1938. Reprinted by special permission.

3. The author of Excerpt B has told certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

4. His conclusion is that education of children consists of

5. Therefore, these authors agree (disagree).

LESSON 3

[Excerpt 'A']

THE AUTOCRAT OF THE BREAKFAST TABLE

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES

We are forming an aristocracy, as you may observe in this country . . . which floats over the turbid waves of common life as the iridescent film you may have seen spreading over the water about our wharves—very splendid, though its origin may have been tar, tallow, train oil, or other such unctuous commodities. I say then, we are forming an aristocracy; and, transitory as its individual life often is, it maintains itself tolerably, as a whole. Of course, money is its cornerstone. . . .

The weak point in our chryso-aristocracy is the same I have alluded to in connection with cheap dandyism. Its thorough manhood, its highcaste gallantry, are not so manifest as the plate glass of its windows and the more or less legitimate heraldry of its coachpanels.

[Excerpt B]

MARTIN CHUZZLEWIT

CHARLES DICKENS

It was rather barren of interest, to say the truth; and the greater part of it may be summed up in one word. Dollars. All their cares, hopes, joys, affections, virtues, and associations seemed to be melted down into dollars. . . . Men were weighed by their dollars, measures gauged by their dollars; life was auctioneered, appraised, put up, and knocked down for its dollars. The next respectable thing to dollars was any venture having their attainment for its end. The more of that worthless ballast, honor and fair dealing, which any man cast overboard from the ship of his Good Name and Good Interest, the more ample stowage room he had for dollars.

1. The author of Excerpt A has told certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. His conclusion is that in America the basis for evaluating character

3. The author of Excerpt B has told certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

4. His conclusion is that in America the most important thing

5. Therefore, these authors agree (disagree).

LESSON 4

[Excerpt A]

“SELF-CULTURE”

WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING

Some are discouraged from proposing to themselves improvement by the false notion that the study of books, which their situation denies them, is the all important and only sufficient means. Let us consider that the grand volumes of which all our books are transcripts, I mean nature, revelation, the human soul, and human life, are freely unfolded to every eye. The great sources of wisdom are experience and observation; and these are denied to none. To open and fix our eyes upon what passes without and within us is the most fruitful study. Books are chiefly useful, as they help us to interpret what we see and experience. When they absorb men as they sometimes do, and turn them from observation of nature and life, they generate a learned folly, for which the plain sense of the laborer could not be exchanged but at great loss. It deserves attention that the greatest men have been formed without the studies which at present are thought by many most needful to improvement. Homer, Plato, Demosthenes, never heard the name of chemistry, and knew less of the solar system than a boy in our common schools. Not that these sciences are unimportant; but the lesson is that human improvement never wants the means where the purpose of it is deep and earnest in the soul.

[Excerpt B]

“ON THE CONVERSATION OF AUTHORS”

WILLIAM HAZLITT

. . . so the character of a scholar not unfrequently dwindles down into the shadow of a shade, till nothing is left of it but

the mere bookworm. There is often something amiable as well as enviable in this last character. I know one such instance at least. The person I mean has an admiration for learning, if he is only dazzled by its light. He lives among old authors, if he does not enter much into their spirit. He handles the covers, and turns over the pages, and is familiar with the names and dates. . . . Such a one lives all his life in a dream of learning, and has never once had his sleep broken by a real sense of things. He believes implicitly in genius, truth, virtue, liberty, because he finds the names of these things in books. . . . When he steals from the twilight of his cell, the scene breaks upon him like an illuminated missal, and all the people he sees are but so many figures in a "camera obscura." He reads the world, like a favorite volume, only to find beauties in it, or like an edition of some old work which he is preparing for the press, only to . . . correct the errors that have inadvertently slipped in . . . He draws the picture of mankind from the guileless simplicity of his own heart: and when he dies, his spirit will take its smiling leave, without having ever had an ill thought of others, or the consciousness of one in itself.

1. The author of Excerpt A has told certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. His conclusion is that real education

3. The author of Excerpt B has told certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

4. His conclusion is that some scholars become bookworms, and that life

5. Therefore, these authors agree (disagree).

LESSON 5

[Excerpt A]

“ARCHAEOLOGICAL HISTORY OF HITHER ASIA”²

JOHN PUNNETT PETERS

We measure civilization by the increase of the culture of the people at large—their higher knowledge, their loftier moral attitude, their improved material conditions, the softening of the roughnesses, the alleviation of the hardships, the improvement of the amenities of life. Measured by such a scale, we of today are far in advance of the cathedral builders, of the sculptors and painters of the 16th century, of the classical writers of the time of Elizabeth.

[Excerpt B]

“WHAT IS CIVILIZATION?”³

WILL DURANT

Civilization is order and freedom promoting cultural activity.

Order is civilization’s first law, and the mother of freedom, as chaos is civilization’s last travail, and the mother of dictatorship.

Four forms of order are needed for civilization: biological, political, economic, moral.

Biologically: there must be order in the relations of the sexes and the generations . . .

Politically: there must be protection for life, labor, enterprise, property and for the society as a whole. . . .

² Reprinted from the *Universal Anthology* by permission of The Grolier Society, Inc., New York.

³ Reprinted by special permission from the *Ladies’ Home Journal*. Copyright 1945. The Curtis Publishing Company.

Economically: there must be order in the production and distribution of desirable goods: . . .

Morally: a civilization requires order in the conduct and relations of men. . . .

1. The author of Excerpt A has told certain facts. They are:

.....

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. His conclusion is that civilization is judged by

.....

3. The author of Excerpt B has told certain facts. They are:

.....

(Decided by group discussion.)

4. His conclusion is that civilization is decided by

.....

5. Therefore, these authors agree (disagree).

LESSON 6

[Excerpt A]

THE WORKS OF FRANCIS BACON, LORD CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND

Reviewed by THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY

On the greatest and most useful of all human inventions, the invention of alphabetical writing, Plato did not look with much complacency. He seems to have thought that the use of letters had operated on the human mind as the use of the go-cart in learning to walk, or of corks in learning to swim, is said to operate on the human body. It was a support which, in his

opinion, soon became indispensable to those who used it, which made vigorous exertion first unnecessary and then impossible. The powers of the intellect would, he conceived, have been more fully developed without this delusive aid. Men would have been compelled to exercise the understanding and the memory, and, by deep and assiduous meditation, to make truth thoroughly their own. Now, on the contrary, much knowledge is traced on paper, but little is engraved in the soul. A man is certain that he can find information at a moment's notice when he wants it. He therefore suffers it to fade from his mind. Such a man cannot in strictness be said to know anything. He has the show without the reality of wisdom.

[Excerpt B]

. . . The powers of the memory, he [Bacon] observes, without the help of writing, can do little towards the advancement of any useful science. He acknowledges that the memory may be disciplined to such a point as to be able to perform very extraordinary feats. But on such feats he sets little value. The habits of his mind, he tells us, are such that he is not disposed to rate highly any accomplishment, however rare, which is of no practical use to mankind. As to these prodigious achievements of the memory, he ranks them with the exhibitions of rope dancers and tumblers. "The two performances," he says, "are much of the same sort. The one is an abuse of the powers of the body; the other is an abuse of the powers of the mind. Both may excite our wonder; but neither is entitled to our respect."

1. The philosopher of Excerpt A has told certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. His conclusion is that the invention of writing has helped (or hindered) man because
.....
3. Bacon, in Excerpt B, has told certain facts. They are:
.....
.....

(Decided by group discussion.)

4. His conclusion is that the invention of writing has helped (or hindered) man because the main value of man's works is
.....
.....
5. Therefore, these two excerpts agree (disagree).

LESSON 7

[Excerpt A]

THE SHORT NOVELS OF DOSTOEVSKY⁴

SIDNEY HARRIS

In the field of history, Lincoln is known as the Great Emancipator; but in the field of literature, no one to my knowledge has thought of calling Dostoevsky the Great Anticipator. Well, let's come right out and say it—he was the Great Anticipator.

Politically, he anticipated the revolution against Czarism fifty years before the event. Socially, he anticipated the freedom of women long before even Ibsen stressed this theme. Most important, psychologically, he anticipated modern psychiatry and psycho-analysis decades in advance of Freud's great discoveries.

But besides these claims to fame, Dostoevsky remains the most brilliant and most penetrating of literary artists. His *Crime*

⁴ From the *Chicago Daily News*, January 2, 1946. Reprinted by special permission.

and Punishment and *The Brothers Karamazov* rank with the best novels ever written; only Tolstoy can equal him, and even Tolstoy did not probe so deeply into the dark corners of the human mind.

[Excerpt B]

“RUSSIAN LITERATURE”⁵

VICOMTE MELCHOIR DE VOGUE

We find nothing of this in Dostoevsky. His is not an acquired art; it is the result of a tempestuous nature, a morbid intensity of thought which overwhelms the reader . . . He took possession of his readers' souls by his hallucinations, filled with terror and pity, yet always framed in the most precise realism. His power depends upon a most singular anomaly—a flood of compassion proceeding from the most pitiless of all writers. I call him cruel, because such of his books as *Crime and Punishment* inflict upon the readers a torture comparable to the procedure of the medieval inquisitor who kissed his patient while he applied the red-hot irons to his flesh.

1. The author of Excerpt A has told certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. His conclusion is that Dostoevsky

(Decided by group discussion.)

4. His conclusion is that Dostoevsky

5. Therefore, these authors agree (disagree).

⁵ Reprinted from the *Universal Anthology* by permission of The Grolier Society, Inc., New York.

LESSON 8

[Excerpt A]

“THINKING FOR ONESELF”

ARTHUR SCHOPENHAUER

As the richest library unarranged is not so useful as a very moderate one well arranged, so the greatest amount of erudition, if it has not been elaborated by one's own thought, is worth much less than a far smaller amount that has been well thought over. For it is through the combination on all sides of that which one knows, through the comparison of every truth with every other, that one assimilates one's own knowledge and gets it into one's power. One can only think out what one knows; hence one should learn something; but one only knows what one has thought out.

One can only apply oneself of set purpose to reading and learning, but not to thinking proper. The latter must, that is, be stimulated and maintained, like fire by a draught of air, by some interest in the subject itself, which may be either a purely objective or a merely subjective one. The latter [subjective] is only present in the case of our personal interest, but the former [objective] only for thinking heads by nature, for which thought is as natural as breath, but which are very rare. For this reason it is so little the case with most scholars.

* * *

Scholars are those who have read in books; but thinkers, geniuses, enlighteners of the world, and benefactors of the human race are those who have directly read in the book of the world.

FREEDOM AMERICAN STYLE⁶

ALAN F. GRIFFIN

Thinking is like any other human activity—we must be able to do it, before we can do it on purpose. If you know how to swim, you know how hopeless it is to try to teach someone else the art of swimming merely by telling him how it is done. . . . You have done a great deal of thinking in your life, but have you ever done any thinking about thinking? Have you ever taken the trouble to try to figure out just what it is that you do when you form an opinion?

It is worthwhile to devote some time to a consideration of what it is that we do when we think.

Probably you have been urged to “think” many times. If you have made a wrong answer to a question, or if you are unable to remember a name or a date, or where you put the key to the garage, someone is sure to say, “Come on, now, think hard.” Your effort generally takes the form of repeating a question to yourself, “What is that name?” or “Where could I have put it?” . . .

To call this kind of activity “thinking” is not very helpful—we should probably be wiser to speak of it as the “dead heave of memory.” At any rate, this is not the kind of thinking we are talking about when we say that the duty of every citizen in a democracy is to think.

It is important to notice that thinking starts with a situation in which we do not know what to do. Such a situation may come about in either of two ways.

The simplest way in which a problem may arise is for us to come upon something about which our habits tell us nothing at all. . . . We are forced to think because our habits do not

⁶ From *Freedom American Style* by Alan F. Griffin, published by Henry Holt and Company, 1940. Reprinted with the permission of the publishers.

tell us enough—they do not suggest anything to do; but thinking may also be necessary when our habits tell us too much. They may suggest several different things to do, and in that case we shall need to make a choice among them.

1. The author of Excerpt A has told me certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. His conclusion is that thinking is the result of , and is kept alive by

3. The author of Excerpt B has told me certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

4. His conclusion is that thinking is really , and is accomplished by

5. Therefore, these authors agree (disagree).

LESSON 9

[Excerpt A]

IN DEFENSE OF SATAN⁷

MARK TWAIN

Of course Satan has some kind of a case, it goes without saying. It may be a poor one, but that is nothing; that can be said about any of us. . . . We may not pay him reverence, for that would be indiscreet, but we can at least respect his talents. A person who has for untold centuries maintained the imposing position of spiritual head of four-fifths of the human race, and

⁷ From *Literary Essays* by Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens). Published by Harper & Brothers. Reprinted by special permission.

political head of the whole of it, must be granted the possession of executive abilities of the loftiest order. . . . I would like to see him. I would rather see him and shake him by the tail than any other member of the European Concert.

[Excerpt B]

“THE ALGUAZIL-- A VISION”

DON FRANCISCO DE QUEVEDO

“Heaven preserve us,” cried I, at the same time crossing myself, “what is the matter with the man?”

“Why,” answered the reverend father, “he is possessed with a devil.”

“That is a falsehood,” exclaimed the spirit that troubled him: “it is not a man possessed with a devil, but a devil possessed with a man; therefore you ought to be more careful of what you say; for it is very obvious, both by the question and answer, that you are a parcel of idiots. For, to tell you the truth, we devils never enter into the body of a man but by compulsion; and therefore you should not say a man be-deviled, but a devil be-manned. And to give you your due, you men can deal better with us devils than with some men; for they make use of the cross to cover their villainy, whereas we do all in our power to avoid it.

“If we are so different, yet we act pretty much alike in our offices; if we draw men into judgment and condemnation, so do some men; we are desirous of the world’s becoming more and more wicked, so are they; nay and much more so than us, for they maintain their families by it, whereas we do it only for the sake of company. And in this, some men are worse than devils; they prey upon their own species, and worry one another, which we never do.”

1. The author of Excerpt A has told certain facts. They are:
.....
.....
(Decided by group discussion.)
2. His conclusion is that Satan is really
3. The author of Excerpt B has told certain facts. They are:
.....
.....
(Decided by group discussion.)
4. His conclusion is that man is
5. Therefore, these authors agree (disagree).

PART FOUR

*The Ability to Find Inaccuracies
and Omissions in the Writings
of Authors*

If we are to find inaccuracies and omissions in the writing of authors, we must develop certain abilities. First, and foremost, we must learn to judge whether or not the author has proved his point. We must acquire a scientific method of discovering whether or not this point has been proved. We call this main point the author's premise. By analyzing the paragraphs we find out whether this premise has been proved.

Second, we must cultivate the ability to test the author's premise in the light of other knowledge that we possess, so as to see whether certain necessary facts have been omitted deliberately.

This technique is tremendously important. It helps us to judge what we read—to judge whether it is true, or whether deliberately misrepresented. The technique we use in judging material presented to us is as follows:

1. We state the author's premise.
2. We consider facts contained in the excerpt that are relevant to the premise.
3. We draw conclusions from these facts.
4. We test our conclusions by continued investigation—by drawing on other knowledge that we possess.

We know that newspapers and magazines, in quoting a writer, often reprint only a small portion of what he has written. It is interesting to see, as a final step in our analysis, whether the newspaper or magazine can change the author's meaning by the omission of certain sentences or paragraphs.

LESSON 1

“AMERICAN AND BRITON”¹

JOHN GALSWORTHY

On the mutual understanding of each other by Britons and Americans the future happiness of nations depends more than on any other world cause.

* * *

Ever since the substantial introduction of democracy nearly a century and a half ago with the American War of Independence, Western Civilization has been living on two planes or levels—the autocratic plane, with which is bound up the idea of nationalism, and the democratic, to which has become conjoined the idea of internationalism. Not only little wars, but great wars such as this, come because of inequality in growth, dissimilarity of political institutions between states; because this state or that is basing its life on different principles from its neighbors. The decentralization, delays, critical temper, and importance of home affairs prevalent in democratic countries make them at once slower, weaker, less apt to strike, and less prepared to strike than countries where bureaucratic brains subject to no real popular check devise world policies which can be thrust, prepared to the last button, on the world at a moment’s notice. The free and critical spirit in America, France, and Britain has kept our democracies comparatively unprepared for anything save their own affairs.

* * *

. . . It is my belief that only in a world thus uniform, and freed from the danger of pounce by autocracies, have states any chance to develop the individual conscience to a point which shall make democracy proof against anarchy and themselves proof against dissolution; and only in such a world can a League of Nations to enforce peace succeed.

¹ From *Another Sheaf* by John Galsworthy. Copyright, 1919, by Charles Scribner’s Sons. Reprinted by special permission.

But even if we do secure a single plane for Western Civilization and ultimately for the world, there will be but slow and difficult progress in the lot of mankind. And unless we secure it, there will be only a march backwards.

For this advance to a uniform civilization the solidarity of the English-speaking races is vital. Without that there will be no bottom on which to build.

The ancestors of the American people sought a new country because they had in them a reverence for the individual conscience; they came from Britain, the first large state in the Christian era to build up the idea of political freedom. The instincts and ideals of our two races have ever been the same. That great and lovable people, the French, with their clear thought and expression, and their quick blood, have expressed those ideals more vividly than either of us. But the phlegmatic and the dry tenacity of our English and American temperaments has ever made our countries the most settled and safe homes of the individual conscience, and of its children—Democracy, Freedom, and Internationalism. . . . We must look to our two countries to guarantee its [democracy's] strength and activity, and if we English-speaking races quarrel and become disunited, civilization will split up again and go its way to ruin. We are the ballast of the new order.

. . . We need no formal bonds, but we have a sacred charge in common, to let no petty matters, differences of manner, or divergencies of material interest, destroy our spiritual agreement. Our pasts, our geographical positions, our temperaments make us, beyond all other races, the hope and trustees of mankind's advance along the only line now open—democratic internationalism. It is childish to claim for Americans or Britons virtues beyond those of other nations, or to believe in the superiority of one national culture to another; they are different, that is all. It is by accident that we find ourselves in this position of guardianship to the main line of human development; no need to pat ourselves on the back about it. But we are at a great and critical moment in the world's history—how critical none of us alive will ever realize. The civilization slowly built

since the fall of Rome has either to break up and dissolve into jagged and isolated fragments through a century of wars; or, unified and reanimated by a single idea, to move forward on one plane and attain greater height and breadth.

Under the pressure of this war there is, beneath the lip-service we pay to democracy, a disposition to lose faith in it because of its undoubted weakness and inconvenience in a struggle with states autocratically governed; . . . The only cure which I can see lies in democratizing the whole world and removing the present weaknesses and shams of democracy by education of the individual conscience in every country. Good-bye to that chance if Americans and Britons fall foul of each other, refuse to pool their thoughts and hopes, and to keep the general welfare of mankind in view. They have got to stand together, not in aggressive and jealous policies, but in defense and championship of the self-helpful, self-governing, "live and let live" philosophy of life.

1. Statement of the author's premise (the large statement):
"On the mutual understanding of each other by Britons and Americans the future happiness of nations depends more than on any other world cause."
2. Consideration of relevant facts (facts pertaining to the large statement):
"Ever since . . . affairs."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
"It is my belief . . . succeed."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
"But even . . . build."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
"The ancestors . . . new order."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?

- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

“We need . . . breadth.”

- a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

“Under the pressure . . . life.”

- a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

3. Drawing conclusions from facts:
My conclusion from this summary is that the author did (did not) prove his premise.

4. Testing conclusions by continued investigation:
What is so unusual about this essay in the light of the date when it was written (1917)?

LESSON 2

“THE NEWSPAPER OF TOMORROW”²

GEORGE FORT MILTON

But news is the real purpose, the true function of the newspaper, its *raison d'être*. But for it cross-word puzzle books and advertising circulars could replace it without fearful loss. Fundamentally a newspaper exists as a public trustee dedicated to the printing of the news. It is the most pervasive, the most constant, perhaps the most insidious of the agencies of education. The world of most people . . . as newspapers portray it, is a city with racketeers on every corner, a place where King George is regarded with abhorrence and Sam Insull as a patriot. They think of the New Deal as the press distorts it, and listen

² From *American Scholar* Magazine, Summer 1936. Reprinted by special permission.

anxiously for the heavy tread of Roosevelt on the March to Moscow.

Now the American newspaper cannot escape a responsibility for the existence of such unreal pictures in the mind of the average man. Of course I know that news is news and that when Bill Thompson tries to ban King George from the history books or when Dutch Schultz is taken for a ride the event meets this test and demands publication. But it would seem equally true that newspapers can shift the focus of the news. By presenting in due proportion the other material of greater importance, the newspaper can alter the picture which the average reader has of his world.

Nor does this embrace the readers' whole grievance against the papers they buy. Not only does the newspaper often create a wrong or distorted impression, but even more frequently the reader leaves it with no impression at all. The newspaper has been so keen to set facts before its readership that it has not pointed out the truth behind the facts, and the result is a jumbled mass impression meaning just about nothing net. News columns contain item after item of the most trivial and inconsequential type. Such things are not news, in any real sense of the word, and get into papers because of an unimaginative news-gathering routine.

* * *

The newspaper of tomorrow must eliminate much of the mass of surface scum that gets into print. Likewise it must find the way to make the important interesting rather than merely to make the interesting seem important. The two conventional objections to this heresy are: first, that the newspaper is a commercial institution, to live it must have subscribers without whom advertisers will pass it by, its revenues will wither away and it will die. The second, corollary to this, is that people take a paper because they are interested in it and therefore "we must give the public what it wants." Is it not possible that this is putting the cart before the horse? Except by assumption or guess, the average editor does not know "what the public wants."

One might cautiously suggest that newspapers are not necessarily and inevitably the creatures of their publics, but that they themselves can have a vast formative effect upon what the public wants. After all, the public gets what the newspaper gives it; the public is trained, habited to want what it gets. The newspaper editor who defends himself by saying that he is a mere slave of public caprice has often himself created the very public desire and demand that he deplores.

The newspaper can treat news in a constructive way just as in a sensational or destructive way. It can contribute to the inflammation of racial hatreds, religious discords, economic conflicts. It can incite the Ku Klux Klan or a mob of lynchers. And then, on the other hand, by a different treatment of the materials involved over the course of years, it can minimize frictions, keep tensions from a breaking point, and aid immeasurably in promoting that understanding and good will which is such an essential lubricant for a complex society.

All this can be done, too, without any abandonment of legitimate publishing profit. Making the interesting seem important is not necessarily the only money-making method; dividends can be paid on a paper based on making the important interesting, and there are many examples to show us that a newspaper can be honorable, constructive, and profitable.

1. Statement of the author's premise (the large statement):
"But news is the real purpose, the true function of the newspaper, its *raison d'être*."
2. Consideration of relevant facts (facts pertaining to the large statement):
"But news . . . Moscow."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
"Now the American . . . world."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

"Nor does this embrace . . . routine."

a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?

b.) How can you prove they are facts?

c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

"The newspaper . . . deplores."

a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?

b.) How can you prove they are facts?

c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

"The newspaper . . . society."

a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?

b.) How can you prove they are facts?

c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

"All this . . . profitable."

a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?

b.) How can you prove they are facts?

c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

3. Drawing conclusions from facts:

My conclusion from this summary is that the author did (did not) prove his premise.

4. Testing conclusions by continued investigation:

Can you prove that your conclusion is right by taking any newspaper today and examining it with this article in mind?

LESSON 3

"AMERICAN CRITICISM FOR AMERICAN READERS"³

ARNOLD MULDER

The birth and death records of magazines of critical opinion are a fairly good index to the state of criticism in a country; they don't tell the whole story but they are at least symptoms indicating the state of health of the patient. And it is rather

³ From *Essay Annual 1937*, published by Scott, Foresman and Company. Reprinted by permission of the author.

appalling to note that no such magazine, at least not one of truly national scope, can live anywhere else than in New York. Now New York is not necessarily the best background for an organ of critical opinion in America. It is unquestionably the best location from a publishing angle, but I am not talking about that; I am talking about literature. Wilson Follett complained last year that American literature is almost completely evaluated on the basis of the superheated, artificial, and provincial ideas that prevail in a tiny spot of American soil a mile or two square; that infinitesimally small segment of cropped tail is wagging the American St. Bernard dog. And New York, it is well known, is almost the most provincial town in America. Drama and poetry and fiction are kept more or less healthy because they are produced in the real America; criticism lags behind because the critics are for the most part compelled, in Hemingway's expressive phrase, to live like angle worms in a bottle.

For many years America had a genuine organ of critical opinion, *The Dial* in Chicago. But in 1918 even it was moved to New York.

The Bookman for years was truly national in tone even though it was located in New York. . . . But apparently there wasn't enough critical appreciation in America to let it live; at least it died in the early thirties and those of us who love books for their own sake are the poorer for its death.

To offset these casualties and others, however, there is the happy and successful emergence of such a magazine as *The Saturday Review of Literature*. *The Saturday Review* was born in the middle twenties and it is today lustier and healthier than ever. It is trying honestly to be national in scope.

* * *

My own feeling is that the magazines of critical opinion will begin to flourish not only in New York but throughout America as soon as we the average readers develop our critical judgment so that we are intelligent enough to demand them. And that is,

of course, the job of the high school teachers and college professors, of the newspaper editors and the preachers, of the women's clubs and book circles, and, most important of all, of the individual lovers of books. Each one of us can develop himself into a focus of critical opinion. We can actually read the books instead of merely reading about them. We can refuse to assume that the classics of our American past are all bad because they are old and have been approved by the professors; we can actually read them and make up our own minds. And we can assume an attitude of independence toward the literary output of the present. We can refuse to read a book merely because everybody else is reading it, or having read it we can refuse to join the chorus. We can build up in ourselves a few simple valid standards of literary excellence and we can live by those standards and the intuitions of our own souls. We can develop the courage to prefer to be wrong about a book or a poet or a novelist rather than to be right with the crowd. The critic who does not dare to be wrong is not worthy of serious attention. We American readers on this vast and varied American continent can become a million force of critical opinion and thus build ourselves into an audience for a genuine literature of creative criticism in America. Such a literature is almost certain to come as soon as we prove ourselves worthy of receiving it.

1. Statement of the author's premise (the large statement) :
"The birth and death records of magazines of critical opinion are a fairly good index to the state of criticism in a country; . . ."
2. Consideration of relevant facts (facts pertaining to the large statement) :
"The birth . . . bottle."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
"For many years . . . New York."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

"The *Bookman* . . . death."

- a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

"To offset . . . scope."

- a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

"My own feeling . . . receiving it."

- a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

3. Drawing conclusions from facts:

My conclusion from this summary is that the author did (did not) prove his premise.

4. Testing conclusions by continued investigation:

Could the author prove his premise today, as well as in 1936 when the article was written, or have you evidence that time has improved the situation?

LESSON 4

"A DEBT TO DICKENS"⁴

PEARL S. BUCK

. . . How can I make you know what that discovery was to that small lonely child? There in that corner above the country road in China, with vendors passing beneath me, I entered into my own heritage. I cannot tell you about those hours. I know I was roused at six o'clock by the call to my supper, and I looked about dazed, to discover the long rays of the late afternoon sun streaming across the village. I remember twice I closed the book and burst into tears, unable to bear the tragedy of Oliver

⁴ Copyright, 1936, by Pearl S. Buck. Reprinted by permission of the author's agent, David Lloyd, New York, N. Y.

Twist, and then opened it quickly again, burning to know more.

. . . I felt I must read it all straight over again, and yet I was voracious for that long row of blue books. What was in them? I climbed up again, finally, and put *Oliver Twist* at the beginning, and began on the next one, which was *David Copperfield*. I resolved to read straight through the row and then begin at the beginning once more and read straight through again.

This program I carried on consistently, over and over, for about ten years, and after that I still kept a Dickens book on hand, so to speak, to dip into and feel myself at home again. Today I have for him a feeling which I have for no other human soul. He opened my eyes to people, he taught me to love all sorts of people, high and low, rich and poor, the old and little children. He taught me to hate hypocrisy and pious mouthing of unctuous words. He taught me that beneath gruffness there may be kindness, and that kindness is the sweetest thing in the world, and goodness is the best thing in the world. He taught me to despise money grubbing. People today say he is obvious and sentimental and childish in his analysis of character. It may be so, and yet I found people surprisingly like those he wrote about—the good a little less undiluted, perhaps, and the evil a little more mixed. And I do not regret that simplicity of his, for it had its own virtue. The virtue was a great zest for life. If he saw everything black and white, it was because life rushed out of him strong and clear, full of love and hate. He gave me that zest, that immense joy in life and in people, and in their variety.

He gave me, too, my first real glimpse of a kindly English God, a sort of father, to whom the childlike and the humble might turn. There was no talk of hell in his books. He made Christmas for me, a merry, roaring English Christmas, full of goodies and plum puddings and merriment and friendly cheer. I went to his parties over and over again, for I had no others. I remember one dreadful famine winter the thing that kept me laughing and still a child was *Pickwick Papers*. I read it over and over, and laughed, as I still laugh, over the Wellers and the widow and Mr. Pickwick and all his merry company.

They were as real to me as the sad folk outside the compound walls, and they saved me and he made me love England. I have no drop of English blood in my veins. I have German and Dutch and French ancestors, I was born in the United States of American parents, and I have spent my life in China. But part of me is English, for I love England with a peculiar possessing love. I do possess something of England. When I went there years later, London was my city and the countryside I knew. I was not strange. The people were my own people too. England is the mother of a certain part of my spirit. I can never take sides against England or the English. It is not only that we speak a common tongue and that we are the same race. There is far more than that. I know English people. I love English people. I have grown up among them. I am used to them. They have been my companions for many years. They are forever my friends.

* * *

That is what Chas. Dickens did for me. His influence I cannot lose. He has made himself a part of me forever.

1. Statement of the author's premise (the large statement) :
"That is what Chas. Dickens did for me. His influence I cannot lose. He has made himself a part of me forever."
2. Consideration of relevant facts (facts pertaining to the large statement) :
"How can . . . more."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
"I felt . . . again."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
"This program . . . variety."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

"He gave me . . . friends."

- a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

3. Drawing conclusions from facts:

My conclusion from this summary is that the author did (did not) prove her premise.

4. Testing conclusions by continued investigation:

Do you know of similar incidents that prove Miss Buck to be correct in her conclusions about Dickens?

LESSON 5

"BITS OF CRITICISM"

JOHN BURROUGHS

The difference between a precious stone and a common stone is an essential difference—not a difference of substance, but of arrangement of the particles—the crystallization. In substance the charcoal and the diamond are one, but in form and effect how widely they differ. The pearl contains nothing that is not found in the coarsest oyster-shell.

Two men have the same thoughts; they use about the same words in expressing them; yet with one the product is real literature, with the other it is a platitude.

The difference is all in the presentation; a finer and more compendious process has gone on in the one case than in the other. . . . We are apt to think of style as something external, that can be put on, something in and of itself. But it is not; it is in the inmost texture of the substance itself. . . . In the best work the style is found and hidden in the matter.

I heard a reader observe, after finishing one of Robert Louis Stevenson's books, "How well it is written!" I thought it a doubtful compliment. It should have been so well written that the reader would not have been conscious of the writing at all.

If we could only get the writing, the craft, out of our stories and essays and poems, and make the reader feel he was face to face with the real thing! The complete identification of the style with the thought; the complete absorption of the man with his matter, so that the reader shall say, "How good, how real, how true!" that is the great success. . . .

* * *

Is it not unfair to take any book, certainly any great piece of literature, and deliberately sit down to pass judgment upon it? Great books are not addressed to the critical judgment, but to the life, the soul. They need to slide into one's life earnestly, and find him with his guard down, his doors open, his attitude disinterested. The reader is to give himself to them, as they give themselves to him; there must be self-sacrifice. We find the great books when we are young, eager, receptive. After we grow hard and critical we find few great books. A recent French critic says: "It seems to me works of art are not made to be judged, but to be loved, to please, to dissipate the cares of real life. It is precisely by wishing to judge that one loses sight of their true significance!"

1. Statement of the author's premise (the large statement):
"Great books are not addressed to the critical judgment, but to the life, the soul."
2. Consideration of relevant facts (facts pertaining to the large statement):
"The difference . . . oyster-shell."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
"Two men . . . platitude."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
"The difference . . . matter."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts? .

b.) How can you prove they are facts?
c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
"I heard . . . success."
a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
b.) How can you prove they are facts?
c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
"Is it not unfair . . . significance!"
a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
b.) How can you prove they are facts?
c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

3. Drawing conclusions from facts:

My conclusion from this summary is that the author did (did not) prove his premise.

4. Testing conclusions by continued investigation:

Do you feel that this article agrees with the article in Lesson 3, and that both these authors proved their premises, or do you feel that the two authors proved their premises on contradictory viewpoints?

LESSON 6

"ON DOORS"⁵

CHRISTOPHER MORLEY

The opening and closing of doors are the most significant actions of man's life. What a mystery lies in doors!

No man knows what awaits him when he opens a door. Even the most familiar room, where the clock ticks and the hearth glows red at dusk, may harbor surprises. The plumber may actually have called (while you were out) and fixed that leaking faucet. The cook may have had a fit of the vapors and de-

⁵ From *Mince Pie*, Copyright, 1919, 1947, by Christopher Morley, published by J. B. Lippincott Company. Reprinted by special permission.

manded her passports. The wise man opens his front door with humility and a spirit of acceptance.

Which one of us has not sat in some anteroom and watched the inscrutable panels of a door that was full of meaning? Perhaps you were waiting to apply for a job; perhaps you had some "deal" you were ambitious to put over. You watched the confidential stenographer flit in and out, carelessly turning that mystic portal which, to you, revolved on hinges of fate. And then the young woman said, "Mr. Cranberry will see you now." As you grasped the knob the thought flashed, "When I open this door again, what will have happened?"

There are many kinds of doors. Revolving doors for hotels, shops, and public buildings. These are typical of the brisk, bustling ways of modern life. Can you imagine John Milton or William Penn skipping through a revolving door? . . . There are trapdoors, sliding doors, double doors, stage doors, prison doors, glass doors. But the symbol and mystery of a door resides in its quality of concealment. A glass door is not a door at all, but a window. The meaning of a door is to hide what lies inside; to keep the heart in suspense.

Also, there are many ways of opening doors. There is the cheery push of elbow with which the waiter shoves open the kitchen door when he bears in your tray of supper. There is the suspicious and tentative withdrawal of a door before the unhappy book agent or peddler. There is the genteel and carefully modulated recession with which footmen swing wide the oaken barriers of the great. There is the sympathetic and awful silence of the dentist's maid who opens the door into the operating room and, without speaking, implies that the doctor is ready for you. There is the brisk cataclysmic opening of a door when the nurse comes in, very early in the morning—"It's a boy!"

Doors are the symbol of privacy, of retreat, of the mind's escape into blissful quietude or sad secret struggle. A room without doors is not a room, but a hallway. No matter where he is, a man can make himself at home behind a closed door.

The mind works best behind closed doors. Men are not horses to be herded together. Dogs know the meaning and anguish of doors. Have you ever noticed a puppy yearning at a shut portal? It is a symbol of human life.

The opening of doors is a mystic act: it has in it some flavor of the unknown, some sense of moving into a new moment, a new pattern of the human rigmarole. It includes the highest glimpses of mortal gladness: reunions, reconciliations, the bliss of lovers long parted. Even in sadness, the opening of a door may bring relief: it changes and redistributes human forces. But the closing of doors is far more terrible. It is a confession of finality. Every door closed brings something to an end. And there are degrees of sadness in the closing of doors. A door slammed is a confession of weakness. A door gently shut is often the most tragic gesture in life. Everyone knows the seizure of anguish that comes just after the closing of a door, when the loved one is still near, within sound of voice, and yet already far away.

The opening and closing of doors is a part of the stern fluency of life. Life will not stay still and let us alone. We are continually opening doors with hope, closing them with despair. Life lasts not much longer than a pipe of tobacco, and destiny knocks us out like the ashes.

The closing of a door is irrevocable. It snaps the packthread of the heart. It is no avail to reopen, to go back. Pinero spoke nonsense when he made Paula Tanqueray say, "The future is only the past entered through another gate." Alas, there is no other gate. When the door is shut, it is shut forever. There is no other entrance to that vanished pulse of time. "The moving finger writes, and having writ"—

There is a certain kind of door-shutting that will come to us all. The kind of door-shutting that is done very quietly, with the sharp click of the latch to break the stillness. They will think then, one hopes, of our unfilled decencies rather than of our pluperfected misdemeanours. Then they will go out and close the door.

1. Statement of the author's premise (the large statement):
"The opening and closing of doors are the most significant actions of man's life."
2. Consideration of relevant facts (facts pertaining to the large statement):
"No man . . . acceptance."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
"Which one of us . . . happened?"
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
"There are . . . suspense."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
"Also, there are . . . 'It's a boy!'"
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
"Doors are . . . symbol of human life."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
"The opening of doors . . . far away."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
"The opening and closing . . . ashes."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
"The closing . . . close the door."
 - a.) Are these paragraphs composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Do these paragraphs help bear out the premise? How?

3. Drawing conclusions from facts:

My conclusion from this summary is that the author did (did not) prove his premise.

4. Testing conclusions by continued investigation:
Does life bear witness to the truth of the author's premise?

LESSON 7

“THE CRITICAL ESSAY IN FRANCE”

PAUL BOURGET

Stendhal is known today by his novels. . . . A soldier under Napoleon when he was only eighteen years old, then a war commissioner, marching across Europe with the Grande Armée, and, after the fall of the Empire, a cosmopolitan traveler, living in Italy, in Paris, in England; he pursued, throughout his youth and his maturity, the study which he himself declared to have been the supreme interest of his life: “the analysis of the human passions and the expression of these passions in art and literature.”

This is his own summary of his life, and it embodies the new conception of criticism which, afterwards formulated by Taine, became a branch of psychology. This formula implies the negation of the old theory of criticism, for, if the chief function of the writer, whether he be poet, novelist, or dramatist, is to give us a true picture of human nature, to make a portrait (as Stendhal said), his work can no longer be judged by comparing it with any one type of excellence, in accordance with the abstract canon of the older criticism.

1. Statement of the author's premise (the large statement):
“The analysis of the human passions and the expression of these passions in art and literature” was the supreme interest of Stendhal's life.
2. Consideration of relevant facts (facts pertaining to the large statement):
“Stendhal is known today . . . literature.”
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?

- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
"This is his own . . . criticism."

 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

3. Drawing conclusions from facts:

My conclusion from this summary is that the author did (did not) prove his premise.

We have considered only two paragraphs; here is a third:

Between the literature of the north and that of the south, for instance, there ought to be lasting differences, since the two are concerned with the representation of two different sorts of human nature, two types refractory to connotation. Both methods are justifiable, because both types of humanity possess the right to exist. The poetry of Shakespeare cannot, and should not, resemble the poetry of Dante, for the one depicts Italian emotion—the other English emotion. The one writes for a Latin race, brilliantly isolated, the other for Saxons and Normans, pent by thick mists, shivering even in the Springtime. The two forms of art are contradictory, yet both are necessary; and it is not the critic's duty to condemn the one because it differs from the other, or both because they differ from a third. His function is to comprehend, and not to judge, the two methods.

1. Statement of the author's premise (the large statement):
"His function [critic's] is to comprehend, and not to judge, the two methods."
2. Consideration of relevant facts (facts pertaining to the large statement):
"Between the literature . . . the two methods."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

3. Drawing conclusions from facts:

My conclusion from this summary is that the author did (did not) prove his premise.

Consideration of inaccuracies and omissions:

Having considered both parts of the excerpt, I have reached this further conclusion: omission of the second part of the excerpt would (would not) change the author's message.

LESSON 8

“INTERROGATION”⁶

SIMEON STRUNSKY

One day a census enumerator in the employ of the United States Government knocked at my door and left a printed list of questions for me to answer. The United States Government wished me to state how many sons and daughters I had and whether my sons were males and my daughters females. I was further required to state that not only was I of white descent and that my wife (if I had one) was of white descent, but that our children (if we had any) were also of white descent. I was also called upon to state whether any of my sons under the age of five (if I had any) had ever been in the military or naval service of the United States, and whether my grandfather (if I had one) was attending school on September 30 last. There were other questions of a like nature, but these are all I can recall at present.

Halfway through the schedule I was in a high state of irritation. The census enumerator's visit in itself I do not consider a nuisance. Like most Americans who sniff at the privileges of citizenship, I secretly delight in them. I speak cynically of boss-rule and demagogues, but I cast my vote on Election Day in a state of solemn and somewhat nervous exaltation that frequently

⁶ Reprinted by permission of Dodd, Mead & Company from *The Patient Observer* by Simeon Strunsky. Copyright, 1911, by Dodd, Mead & Company.

interferes with my folding the ballot in the prescribed way. I have never been summoned for jury duty, but if I ever should be, I shall accept with pride and in the hope that I shall not be peremptorily challenged. It needs some such official document as a census schedule to bring home the feeling that government and state exist for me and my own welfare. Filling out the answers in the list was one of the pleasant manifestations of democracy, of which paying taxes is the unpleasant side. The printed form before me embodied a solemn function. I was aware that many important problems depended upon my answering the questions properly. Only then, for instance, could the Government decide how many congressmen should go to Washington, and what my share was of the total wealth of the country, and how I contributed to the drift from the farm to the city, and what was the average income of Methodist clergymen in cities of over one hundred thousand population.

1. Statement of the author's premise (the large statement):
Though the census-taking is a nuisance, it is a necessity for our government.
2. Consideration of relevant facts (facts pertaining to the large statement):
"One day . . . present."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
"Halfway through . . . one hundred thousand population."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
3. Drawing conclusions from facts:
My conclusion from this summary is that the author did (did not) prove his premise.

We have considered only the first two paragraphs; the essay continues as follows:

What, then, if so many of the questions put to me by the United States Government seemed superfluous to the point of

being absurd? The process may involve a certain waste of paper and ink and time, but it is the kind of waste without which the business of life would be impossible. The questions that really shape human happiness are those to which the reply is obvious. The answers that count are those the questioner knew he would get and was prepared to insist upon getting. Harrington tells me that when he was married he could not help smiling when the minister asked him whether he would take the woman by his side to be his wedded wife. "What," said Harrington, "did he think I was there for? Or did he detect any signs of wavering at the last moment?" What reply does the clergyman await when he asks the rejoicing parents whether they are willing to have their child baptized into the community of the redeemed? What is all ritual, as it has been framed to meet the needs of the human heart, but a preordained order of question and response? In birth and in burial, in joy and in sorrow, for those who have escaped shipwreck and those who have escaped the plague, the practice of the ages has laid down formulae which the soul does not find the less adequate because they are ready-made.

Consider the multiplication-table. I don't know who first hit upon the absurd idea that questions are intended to elicit information. In so many laboratories are students putting questions to their microscope. In so many lawyers' offices are clients putting questions to their attorneys. In so many other offices are haggard men and women putting questions to their doctors. But the number of all these is quite insignificant when compared with the number of questions that are framed every day in the schoolrooms of the world. Wherefore, I say, consider the multiplication-table. A greater sum of human interest has centered about the multiplication-table than about all doctors' and lawyers' and biologists' offices since the beginning of time. Millions of schoolmasters have asked what is seven times eleven and myriads of children's brains have toiled for the answer that all the time has been reposing in the teacher's mind. What is seven times eleven? What is the capitol of Dahomey? When did the Americans beat the British at Lexington? What is the

meaning of the universe? We shall never escape the feeling that these questions are put only to vex us by those who know the answer.

I said that I am looking forward to be summoned for jury duty. But I know that the solemn business of justice, like most of the world's business, is made up of the mumbled question that is seldom heard and the fixed reply that is never listened to. The clerk of the court stares at the wall and drones out the ancient formula which begins "Jusolemlyswear" and "Swelpyugod," and the witness on the stand blurts out "I do." The Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court asks the President-elect whether he will be faithful to the Constitution and the laws of the United States, and the President-elect invariably says that he will. The candidate for American citizenship is asked whether he hereby renounces allegiance to foreign kings, emperors, and potentates, and fervently responds that he does. When I took my medical examination for a life-insurance policy, the physician asked me whether I suffered from asthma, bronchitis, calculus, dementia, erysipelas, and several score other afflictions, and, without waiting for an answer, he wrote "No" opposite every disease.

Whenever I think of the world and the world's opinion, I think of Mrs. Harrington, in whom I see the world typified. Now Mrs. Harrington is inconceivable in a scheme where the proper reply to every question is not as thoroughly established as the rule for the proper use of forks at dinner. In the presence of an unfamiliar reply to a familiar question Mrs. Harrington is suspicious and uneasy. She scents either a joke or an insult; and we are all Mrs. Harrington. If you were to ask a stranger whom did he consider the greatest playwright of all times and, instead of Shakespeare or Molière, he were to say Racine, it would be as if one were to ask him whether he took tea or coffee for breakfast and he said arsenic. It would be as though you asked your neighbor what he thought of a beautiful sunset and he said he did not like it. It would be as if I were to say to Mrs. Harrington, "Well, I suppose I have stayed quite long

enough," and she were to say, "Yes, I think you had better be going."

1. Statement of the author's premise (the large statement):
"What is all ritual, as it has been framed to meet the needs of the human heart, but a preordained order of question and response?"
2. Consideration of relevant facts (facts pertaining to the large statement):
"What, then, . . . ready-made."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
"Consider . . . who know the answer."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
"I said . . . opposite every disease."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
"Whenever . . . better be going."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

3. Drawing conclusions from facts:

My conclusion from this summary is that the author did (did not) prove his premise.

Consideration of inaccuracies and omissions:

Having considered both parts of the excerpt, I have reached this further conclusion: omission of the second part of the excerpt would (would not) change the author's message.

“RED-BLOODS AND MOLLYCODDLES”⁷

G. LOWES DICKINSON

We have divided men into Red-bloods and Mollycoddles. A “Red-blood man” is a phrase which explains itself, “Mollycoddle” is its opposite. We have adopted it from a famous speech of Mr. Roosevelt, and redeemed it—perverted it, if you will—to other uses. A few examples will make the notion clear. Shakespeare’s Henry V is a typical Red-blood; so was Bismarck; so was Palmerston; so is almost any business man. On the other hand, typical Mollycoddles were Socrates, Voltaire, and Shelley. The terms, you well observe, are comprehensive, and the types very broad. Generally speaking, men of action are Red-blood. Not but what the Mollycoddle may act, and act efficiently. But, if so, he acts from principle, not from the instinct of action. The Red-blood, on the other hand, acts as the stone falls, and does indiscriminately anything that comes to hand. It is thus he that carries on the business of the world. He steps without reflection into the first place offered him and goes to work like a machine. The ideals and standards of his family, his class, his city, his country, and his age, he swallows as naturally as he swallows food and drink. He is therefore always “in the swim”; and he is bound to “arrive,” because he has set before himself the attainable. You will find him everywhere, in all the prominent positions. In a military age he is a soldier, in a commercial age a business man. He hates his enemies, and he may love his friends; but he does not require friends to love. . . .

1. Statement of the author’s premise (the large statement):
Red-bloods are men of action and carry on the business of the world.

⁷ From *Appearances* by G. Lowes Dickinson. Copyright 1914 by G. Lowes Dickinson, reprinted by permission of Doubleday & Company, Inc.

2. Consideration of relevant facts (facts pertaining to the large statement) :

“We have . . . friends to love.”

- a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

3. Drawing conclusions from facts:

My conclusion from this summary is that the author did (did not) prove his premise.

We have considered only part of a paragraph; the essay continues as follows:

. . . A wife and children he does require, for the instinct to propagate the race is as strong in him as all other instincts. His domestic life, however, is not always happy; for he can seldom understand his wife. This is part of his general incapacity to understand any point of view but his own. He is incapable of an idea and contemptuous of a principle. He is the Samson, the blind force, dearest to Nature of her children. He neither looks back nor looks ahead. He lives in present action. And when he can no longer act, he loses his reason for existence. The Red-blood is happiest if he dies in the prime of life; otherwise he may easily end with suicide. For he has no inner life; and when the outer life fails, he can only fail with it. The instinct that animated him being dead, he dies too. Nature, who has blown through him, blows elsewhere. His stops are dumb; he is dead wood on the shore.

1. Statement of the author's premise (the large statement) :
“He is incapable of an idea and contemptuous of a principle.”

2. Consideration of relevant facts (facts pertaining to the large statement) :
“A wife . . . the shore.”

- a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

3. Drawing conclusions from facts:

My conclusion from this summary is that the author did (did not) prove his premise.

Consideration of inaccuracies and omissions:

Having considered both parts of the excerpt, I have reached this further conclusion: omission of the second part of the excerpt would (would not) change the author's message.

HISTORY

PART ONE

*The Ability to Form Our
Own Conclusions*

LESSON 1

“WHAT IS AN AMERICAN?”¹

CHARLES W. ELIOT

In the first place, the American is the product of certain moral inheritances. He is usually the descendant of an immigrant or an immigrant himself. That immigrant in many cases was escaping from some sort of religious, political, social, or economic oppression. He was some kind of nonconformist; and he was dissatisfied with his surroundings and wished to better them. Therefore he must have had an unusual amount of imagination, ambition, and venturesomeness. This is as true of the late comers to America as of the earlier comers. The English Pilgrims and Puritans, the French Huguenots, the Scotch Covenanters, the Moravians, the Quakers, the Russian Jews, the Armenians, and the Syrian Christians all fled from religious hostilities or restrictions, and meant to secure, or expected to find, in the New World freedom to worship God each in his own way. They found that liberty, and ultimately established in the United States a regime of absolute religious toleration. After 1848 a large German immigration took refuge here from political oppression. Millions of European and Near-Eastern people have crossed the Atlantic and taken the serious risk of attempting to secure a foothold in fresh and free America,

¹ From *A Late Harvest*, copyright 1924 by the Atlantic Monthly Press. Reprinted by special permission.

because they hoped to escape from economic pressure and chronic poverty. They have exiled themselves from home and friends in search of some better opportunity for a successful and happy life than the native land offered. The migrations of the Irish and the Scotch Highlanders have been strong cases of escape from harassing economic and social conditions. The early comers took the risks of the wilderness, the Indians, the untried climate, and the unknown diseases. The late comers have dared the perils of congested cities, of novel industries, and of insecure employment. Hence, by heredity, the white Americans of to-day—of whatever race or stock—have a fair chance to be by nature independent, bold, and enterprising.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

.....
.....

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts add up to the following conclusions:

a.) [reason immigrant came]
b.) [people who came]
c.) [what they risked]
d.) [what they gained]

3. Therefore, my general conclusion is that

.....

“A PRIMER IN WORLD GOVERNMENT”²

JUSTICE OWEN J. ROBERTS

Can the plain people who have to fight, to suffer, and to pay for wars get relief? Certainly. If they will join in creating a government to regulate weapons, to jail offenders who break the rules of international good conduct, they can have peace.

This government must maintain a police force able to inspect factories that might be making atomic bombs, rockets, or poison gas, to bring the makers to justice, to destroy the weapons, and to prevent further manufacture.

... If we are to have an international police we must have: (1) a government in which all the people of all the nations are represented; (2) laws made by their representatives; (3) police belonging to that government to enforce the laws; (4) courts of that government to punish lawbreakers. Then we could really have peace, just as we now have peace in all our forty-eight states.

Why can't we have that sort of international system? The answer is we can, if we, the American people, really want it. But now that World War II is over, we are fast forgetting the cause of the war, which was the national self-will of independent nations.

The plain people of America ought to make up their minds that they are going to have peace in this world and that their representatives in Congress must demand a government that is higher than the government of any nation, including our own. It is silly to say that because there always have been wars there always will be. Bubonic plague was a scourge a hundred years ago. But the people set their will to fight the disease and they conquered it. Bubonic plague today is almost unknown amongst civilized people.

² Reprinted from March, 1946, *Coronet*. Copyright, 1946, by Esquire, Inc.

If people want to eliminate war, there is a clear, simple, and tested way. We have found the way in our own nation. Shall we take that road as amongst the people of our own and other nations, or shall we wait for another world war started by some nation whose rulers are bound by no law?

The choice is ours. If we forget the past, we shall soon wake up with a shock from which civilization may never recover. Think about this—do something about it. Make your will known so that the world may be governed by an international government and live in peace, not just for a generation, but for hundreds of years to come.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts add up to the following conclusions:

- a.) [how plain people will get relief]
- b.) [what this government must do]
- c.) [what police force must do]
- d.) [how to get it]
- e.) [what will happen if we don't]

3. Therefore, my general conclusion is that in order to eliminate war people must

“CRACKER BARREL FORUM”³

DAVID LOUIS

... But what is the basis of our American democracy? Where is it conceived? Where is it born?

It begins wherever citizens gather to discuss and debate. It begins on the street corner, in the familiar living room, on the soap box in the public park, around the old wood stove in the village store.

It begins wherever you hear the voices of Americans arguing, agreeing, quarreling, over the rights of man, the school board, the increase in taxes, the price of pickles. In the voice of one American standing up for himself is the beginning of the democratic process. . . .

“Now you lissen to me, Hank. This is a peaceable country, but each one of us has got a weapon t’ fight with. Call it yer vote on election day; call it the sound o’ yer own voice fightin’ fer what you think is fair. That’s yer weapon. That’s what we fight with in a peaceable country. You think you ain’t done right by, so you open your mouth ’n holler t’ almighty heaven. That’s yer right in a democracy. But you gotta lissen t’ the other feller too. Now . . . what was that you was beefing about?”

In the marble halls where laws are made, they talk the jargon of the status quo and the corpus juris. The more we hear of it the more it sounds like Greek. So we have been letting the politicians do more and more of our talking for us, and, inevitably, more and more of our thinking.

But the plain fact is that democracy is the language we have been talking in this nation for two centuries. The hard, imperishable core of it is the free talk of free citizens in a free place.

³ Reprinted from March, 1946, *Coronet*. Copyright, 1946, by Esquire, Inc.

The sound of our voices in the little places is picked up by the searching wind, echoed by the multitudes, and borne with irresistible force into the marble halls.

So dig in—get back to the old cracker barrel, to the old wood stove in the general store. From this vantage point, where the give-and-take of free speech is the inalienable right of all men, add your questing, reasoning, clear hard voice to the great chorus of American democracy.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts add up to the following conclusions:

- a.) [where democracy begins]
- b.) [what is discussed]
- c.) [what we've been doing lately]
- d.) [what we must do once more]

3. Therefore, my general conclusion is that democracy to be real democracy must

LESSON 4

“DEMAGOGUE OR PEOPLE’S LEADER?”⁴

FREDERICK H. CRAMER

It may seem surprising to find Luther’s name among those selected for this series of profiles. Large sections of the Protestant

⁴ From *Current History* Magazine, December 1945. Reprinted by special permission.

world have for centuries acclaimed him as a great people's leader, at least in the realm of religion. On the other hand, the Catholic view of the man who smashed the medieval religious unity of Europe has often seen in him a master-demagogue. The historian approaches the problem from a somewhat different angle. He is not so much concerned with the purely religious influence of Luther's ideas as he is with their actual effect upon the political, social, and economic trends of European life in the 16th century and afterwards.

Even the most cautious interpretation of the terms "people's leader" and "demagogue" must allow for one basic assumption: both types of men proceed from the premise that the supreme power is vested in the people. The "people's leader," a man like Pericles, will put himself at the head of any popular movement for the common betterment of all. The "demagogue" will lead the people in order to advance his own individual interests. In Luther's time not the people, but the feudal aristocracy, or, more properly, the absolutistic princes of Europe, were the holders of political power. The masses of the people, the peasants, were still in a state of serfdom. In order to test Luther's role within the limits of this short article it seems essential to focus his views and actions concerning groups which may serve as touch-stones for his social, economic, and political theories and practices.

* * *

Luther in his basic political views was thoroughly medieval. He might attack the papacy and the firmly established religious and educational practices of his time, but for him, as for every truly medieval mind, the salvation of man, the importance of religion, alone counted. . . . Luther's anti-Semitism was based on religious grounds, not on racial ones. As early as 1514, he clearly revealed his animosity against the Jews in a letter.

* * *

Definite proof of the tenacity with which Luther clung to his pet notions is furnished by his attitude towards the peasants, whom he never forgave for having tried, in 1525, to drag him

into their futile attempt to shake off their yoke. In his subservience to the political powers that were, Luther again was a typical product of the incipient age of monarchic absolutism. Medieval religious leaders had often enough attacked secular princes without fear. Luther, however, had from the beginning owed everything to the support of his own prince, the elector of Saxony. When he was about to be outlawed by Leo X, Luther in his famous "Address to the Christian nobility of the German Nation on the improvement of the Christian estate" had appealed to the feudal aristocracy of Germany to come to the support of his movement.

* * *

The main test, however, had come many years before, when Luther was confronted with a choice between the people and the princes. This had occurred in 1525, in connection with the peasant rising. Luther's mind, operating medievally, utterly failed to grasp the political and social consequences of his own overthrow of established ecclesiastical authority. The challenge to religious vested interests was inevitably hailed by many as a mere beginning. Secular authority, far less sacred than that of the Church, was questioned more searchingly. The wretched conditions of peasants in many parts of medieval Europe had caused occasional outbreaks in various countries in the past. The hour had now come when Luther's theories about the equal status of all Christians before God were translated into political action by the German peasants. Their leaders, radical clergymen, drew up twelve articles, in which a complete merger of civil and religious laws was proposed.

* * *

The rebellious peasants had already violated what Luther considered the permissible maximum of popular resistance. When he now began to hear the well-founded atrocity stories and furthermore witnessed the panicky state of the princes, he first started a preaching campaign, but finding this futile, he advised the princes to fight fire with fire without mercy.

* * *

Luther went even further. This man who in his campaign against ecclesiastical abuses had been recognized by many as a real people's leader was wholly blind to the causes of social revolution before his very eyes. In a brief essay, "Against the thievish, murderous hordes of peasants," Luther forever chose his place in the camp of absolutistic rulers: . . .

* * *

These tidbits may suffice. No people's leader speaks this way. One may readily admit the magnificent qualities of Luther's courageous stand against what he considered religious abuses. Toward social abuses he was almost completely deaf, dumb, and blind. Having succeeded with the help of the princes in establishing his new religious creed firmly, he wanted no more. . . .

Toleration was not a word found in his vocabulary. Democracy beyond the religious realm remained utterly incomprehensible to him. To the end, Luther was unable to break loose from his medieval intellectual moorings.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts add up to the following conclusions:

- a.) [Protestant view of Luther]
- b.) [Catholic view of Luther]
- c.) [what a people's leader does]
- d.) [what a demagogue does]
- e.) [who controlled in Luther's time]
- f.) [his attitude toward the Jews]
- g.) [his attitude toward the peasants]

h.)
[his main intention]

3. Therefore, my general conclusion is that Luther was
.....

LESSON 5

FAREWELL ADDRESS

GEORGE WASHINGTON

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction, over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. The disorders and miseries which result gradually, incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

.....

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts add up to the following conclusions:

- a.)
[viewpoint on parties in general]
- b.)
[reason for existence of parties]
- c.)
[results of party strife]

3. Therefore, my general conclusion is that
.....

LESSON 6

CASE FOR DEMOCRACY⁵

ORDWAY TEAD

Democracy is at once an ideal, a progress, and a method, all of which look to the cherishing of the unique worthfulness of each individual as a potentially significant personality. It is an aspiration centering around the belief that in the maximum enhancement of the individual life comes at once the greatest individual fulfillment and simultaneously the greatest felicity in the natural associations of men in society. It is, as someone has said, the companionship of the shared good life.

As a three-way project, democracy first makes an affirmation about the precious value of individual personality. It secondly affirms that the process of personal growth requires self-choices, self-assumed responsibilities, shared participation in determining practical affairs—all of which are developmental experiences. And it thirdly affirms that there are certain organized methods and organized structural relationships by which choices are registered and participations of individuals in associated affairs are obtained and guided, which experience shows are to be preferred as enhancing personal development.

⁵ Published by Association Press, New York. Reprinted by special permission.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:
.....
.....
(Decided by group discussion.)
2. These facts add up to the following conclusions:
a.)
[democracy's idea of individuals]
b.)
[advantage to society in advancement of individual]
c.)
[three ways in which democracy develops the individual]
3. Therefore, my general conclusion is that
.....

LESSON 7

“DESIGNS FOR DEMOCRACY”⁶

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

“Democracy,” observed Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin last August, is a “very much overworked word which appears to need definiteness.” Many Anglo-Americans are solicitous of democracy in the Balkans and fearful of Soviet “totalitarian tyranny.” Many Russians are concerned over the pursuit of “undemocratic” goals by the western democracies and are convinced, in Stalin’s phrase, that their own constitution is “the most democratic in the world.” All peoples with open eyes know that the prospects of survival for civilization in the atomic age depend upon Anglo-American-Soviet concord. This in turn depends in the short run upon mutual tolerance between divergent systems and in the long run upon a synthesis of opposites, leading to the ultimate emergence of a global pattern for community life which all will deem conducive to the realization

⁶ From *Current History Magazine*, December 1945. Reprinted by special permission.

of democratic values. These needs make urgent a reconsideration of the ideological and institutional differences between the two worlds which together must create One World.

* * *

If America, Britain, and Russia, united in the pursuit of common purposes, can assure some reasonable measure of peace and plenty to their peoples and to the world during the coming decade, it may confidently be predicted that Soviet socialism will be progressively democratized and that western democracy will be progressively socialized. The former process will promote a new freedom in the U. S. S. R. and create new areas of private property and enterprise within the framework of a planned society. The latter process will leave large areas of personal freedom, property rights, and private enterprise within the framework of a modified capitalism capable of utilizing public authority to achieve economic stability and security. The ultimate alternative to such a sequence of change is World War III in which democracy and socialism alike, along with all foundations of civilized living, will be annihilated in an atomic holocaust of death. If modern mankind is worthy of survival, it will find the means to unity between East and West in a common vision of a new democracy which all free men can accept as the road to life.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts add up to the following conclusions:

- a.) [what Americans think of Soviet democracy]
- b.) [what Russians think of American democracy]
- c.) [what Russians and Americans must do]
- d.) [what Russians, British, and Americans must do]

e.) [what cooperation with Russia will do to American life]
f.) [what cooperation with America will do to Russian life]
g.) [what this will mean to world]

3. Therefore, my general conclusion is that

LESSON 8

“A WAY TO END WAR”⁷

DOROTHY THOMPSON

There is only one way to eliminate international war. All substitutes will fail. Power, so overwhelming that no state dares challenge it, must be centered in one authority. That is the only way war has ever been suppressed in domestic societies.

This can be achieved: (1) By the expansion of one state to embrace so much of the world that it can dictate to the rest; (2) By the mutual creation of a world law with its enforcement in the hands of an international authority.

World domination could be accomplished only by a state situated in such a central land position in the Eastern Hemisphere that it could expand by absorbing contiguous territories in Europe, the Near East, and Asia. This was the theory of the British geographer, Sir Halford Mackinder, copied by the German geopolitician, who recently committed suicide, Herr Haushofer.

The obituary notices of Haushofer failed to point out a most important thing. His theories became as familiar to the general staff of the Red Army as to the Reichswehr during their collaboration. Haushofer did not believe Germany could accomplish

⁷ Reprinted by permission of the *Chicago Daily News* and The Bell Syndicate, Inc.

world domination without the collaboration of the Soviet Union. He believed the British Empire could be destroyed and the United States isolated, but that if Germany lost a war against Russia she would be finished.

Mackinder was ignored by those he hoped to warn after the last war and after this one. Our representatives in Tehran and Yalta hoped to accomplish by friendly verbal agreements what they were in no position to enforce.

* * *

The world will either be one world under law, one world under despotic domination, or a world—a jungle of anarchy which will eventually blow itself up forever.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

.....
.....
(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts add up to the following conclusions:

a.)
[two ways to eliminate war]
b.)
[how first way can be accomplished]
c.)
[how second way can be accomplished]

3. Therefore, my general conclusion is that

LESSON 9

“THE ATLANTIC REPORT OF THE FAR EAST”⁸

We must continue to accommodate ourselves to the facts. If we are going to survive, the essential things we believe in must

⁸ From the *Atlantic Monthly* Magazine, February 1946. Reprinted by special permission.

be acceptable to the rest of the world; they must have the vitality to attract men everywhere. The acceptance and projection of this attitude towards the highly complex and rapidly changing conditions of Asia is the first task of our government.

We do not mean that we should flaunt our virtues or beliefs in a sort of righteous exhibitionism before the world, as Pericles did before Sparta. We should then deservedly suffer the same fate as Athens. Rather we should accept our ideas for what they are—the most revolutionary and difficult of achievement in the world today—and express them in every way possible, but especially through a purposeful and integrated foreign policy.

There are some signs that we are beginning to face facts. The addition of an information arm to the Department of State is presumably in recognition of the new situation. The day has gone when we could afford to leave the understanding of America and American policies to the news agencies, whose purpose is to sell, not to inform; to the movies, which are geared to American tastes; to the irregular and accidental export of books, magazines, and American tourists.

If our policies can bear the light of day, why not put the genius of American publicity techniques behind them? We did it to keep allies during the war—why not to get allies for the peace? We must bear in mind that an information arm can be no better than the policies which guide it.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts add up to the following conclusions:

a.) [what must we do to survive]

b.) [what we must do with our ideas]

c.) [how we must accomplish this purpose with our ideas]

3. Therefore, my general conclusion is that

PART TWO

*The Ability to
Discover the Author's Conclusion*

LESSON 1

**ROADS TO A NEW
AMERICA¹**

DAVID CUSHMAN COYLE

Liberty, if we can understand its requirements and its necessary forms in modern circumstances, will be able to live and grow in America, even in an age of machinery. The first requirement is that we stand together to provide every citizen with a fair opportunity for health, knowledge, and a chance to earn a living, so that no large number of Americans will feel trapped. The second requirement is that we support vigorously all laws and customs protecting free speech, widespread discussion, and a secret and honest ballot. With these protections to our personal liberty we can wield the necessary powers of national sovereignty to protect ourselves, without letting the sovereign power get out of our control.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

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.....

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts are told to make me come to a certain conclusion. This conclusion is

¹ Reprinted by special permission from the author.

3. I believe that it is the author's conclusion as well as mine; therefore, I believe his purpose was to

LESSON 2

CASE FOR DEMOCRACY²

ORDWAY TEAD

It was natural and inevitable that democracy should first be interpreted and focused in what we call political terms, in terms of the ordering and control of those concerns which people found they had most obviously in common and upon which their individual well-beings depended. But in earlier and simpler times the concerns necessarily held in common were limited. In a predominantly agricultural economy the town meeting and even the national "politics" had only indirectly to do with the gaining of livelihood.

Yet nothing is clearer than that today, if democracy's fundamental concern is to enhance the worthfulness of the individual, it must extend its influence and its methods out into fields not historically viewed as political. In the kind of world we face, the shared quest for the good life must acknowledge its material base and must think democratically and responsibly about how that quest can be forwarded through all the multifarious organized agencies of living—including getting a living.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts are told to make me come to a certain conclusion. This conclusion is

² Published by Association Press, New York. Reprinted by special permission.

3. I believe that it is the author's conclusion as well as mine; therefore, I believe his purpose was to

LESSON 3

PROBLEMS OF LASTING PEACE³

HERBERT HOOVER AND HUGH GIBSON

There must be just as much preparedness for peacemaking as there is for war. And in many ways the preparations for peace are a more difficult task. Preparedness for war deals mostly with tangibles—men, guns, ships, planes, money—and with tactics and strategy. Preparedness for peace deals largely with intangibles—the setting up of moral, intellectual, economic, and political forces over the whole world which will produce and hold peace.

And lasting peace cannot be made simply of lofty expressions of aims and ideals. Such ideals are necessary. We must have aims. But that is only the starting point of the job of making lasting peace. Any peace consists of a realistic definition of territorial, economic, political, military, and other settlements, with terms, methods, and machinery for carrying it out. The "aims" and "ideals" are not part of the binding words of peace. They are only background to be expressed in undertakings of concrete character.

The difference between "aims" and peace treaties is the same difference as that between the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. It takes little effort of the imagination to picture the results if, instead of elaborating a Constitution, the Founding Fathers and their descendants

³ Published by Doubleday & Company, Inc., New York. Reprinted by special permission from the authors.

had endeavored to govern this country under the terms of the Declaration of Independence.

The vital question in the peace is how our aims and ideals are to be made to work. That is, by what means, powers, what machinery, is peace to be made to prevail?

If we are to make a better job of the peace this time than last, it will be because intelligent public interest and discussion succeed in developing more ideas and better ideas. And it will be because of better understanding of the causes of failure in the past and the experience that can be drawn from mankind's many efforts in the prevention of war. . . .

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts are told to make me come to a certain conclusion. This conclusion is

3. I believe that it is the author's conclusion as well as mine; therefore, I believe his purpose was to

LESSON 4

MERCHANTS OF DEATH⁴

ENGELBRECHT AND HANIGHEN

There remains then but one real way out: disarmament. The various futile conferences on disarmament have not been in vain if they have opened the eyes of the peace forces to the real problem which confronts them. Disarmament has not been achieved because of the international political situation. Inter-

⁴ Reprinted by permission of Dodd, Mead & Company from *Merchants of Death* by Englebrecht & Hanighen. Copyright, 1934, by Dodd, Mead & Company, Inc.

national politics in turn are determined by our whole civilization. Our civilization has permitted and even fostered war-making forces, such as nationalism and chauvinism, and economic rivalry and competitive capitalism, imperialism, and colonialism, political and territorial disputes, race hatred and pressure of population. The traditional way of establishing an equilibrium between these rival forces has been and is violence, armed warfare.

Disarmament is thus a problem of our civilization. It will never be achieved unless these war-making forces are crushed or eliminated.

The problem of disarmament is therefore the problem of building a new civilization. All attempts at dealing with disarmament by itself, without consideration of the deeper issues involved, are doomed to failure. Minor agreements may be reached, limited to a short period of time, but the world will never cease being an armed camp until the basic elements of our present civilization have been changed.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts are told to make me come to a certain conclusion. This conclusion is
3. I believe that it is the author's conclusion as well as mine; therefore, I believe his purpose was to

AMERICA PREPARED FOR TOMORROW⁵

WILLIAM DOW BOUTWELL AND OTHERS

But the Axis will fail for another and more fundamental reason. The modern world, as we all know, is an extremely complicated mechanism. Any evening newspaper is the product of thousands of workers all over the world. A power failure can leave a whole city without heat, water, light, and food. A city of 80,000 like Atlantic City must cope with 400,000 over a weekend. Some have reasoned that the integration necessary to operate modern life leads to one-man rule. Such reasoning disregards evidence that bigness leads to bureaucracy whether in business or government. Bureaucracy is inefficient. Thus even modern economics is on the side of democracy which constantly strives for decentralization. To think that monarchy by any name with its train of hates, jealousies, patronage, and pyramiding of responsibility can long deal successfully with the problems of integration in modern society is to give houseroom to flimsy myth. Democracy offers the only hope of ever making modern civilization work. Why? Because democracy is the only method of securing the good will of a large majority, and a complex society will certainly not work without abundant good will. . . .

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

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.....

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts are told to make me come to a certain conclusion. This conclusion is
3. I believe that it is the author's conclusion as well as mine; therefore, I believe his purpose was to

⁵ Published by Harper & Brothers. Reprinted by special permission.

“MORE STATES’ RIGHTS OR GREATER CENTRALIZATION?”⁶

GLENN FRANK

The centralization of power has invariably ended in tyranny. Even when effected with democratic consent and designed to serve emergency ends only, centralized power has always moved relentlessly in the direction of self-perpetuation and it has scorned no weapon that would advance it on its road to permanent power. It has always, sooner or later, sought to bully into silence the voice of corrective criticism, intimidate minority opinion, liquidate all opposition by character assassination, and thus gain unquestioned right of way for its every wish. And, once entrenched, with a presumption of permanence, centralized power has always grown domineering. It has become less rather than more concerned with the common good. It has become the victim of whim and caprice. Until, at last, a revolt of the governed has proved the only road to progress.

The decentralization of power, when pushed to the extreme, ends in anarchy. A decentralization of power may work well in an excessively simple society. It becomes less efficient as a society becomes increasingly complex.

The organized balancing of powers is the result of mankind’s attempt to find a workable compromise that will keep power centralized enough to achieve efficiency without tyranny and keep power decentralized enough to achieve freedom without anarchy.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

⁶ From *Independent Woman Magazine*, September 1936. Reprinted by special permission.

2. These facts are told to make me come to a certain conclusion.
This conclusion is
3. I believe that it is the author's conclusion as well as mine;
therefore, I believe his purpose was to

LESSON 7

“THE ROMANCE OF HISTORY”

THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY

The effect of historical reading is analogous, in many respects, to that produced by foreign travel. The student, like the tourist, is transported into a new state of society. He sees new fashions. He hears new modes of expression. His mind is enlarged by contemplating the wide diversities of laws, of morals, and of manners. But men may travel far, and return with minds as contracted as if they had never stirred from their own market-town. In the same manner, men may know the dates of many battles and the genealogies of many royal houses, and yet be no wiser. Most people look at past times as princes look at foreign countries. More than one illustrious stranger has landed on our island amidst the shouts of a mob; has dined with the king; has hunted with the master of the stag-hounds; has seen the Guards reviewed, and a Knight of the Garter installed; has cantered along Regent Street; has visited St. Paul's, and noted down its dimensions; and has then departed, thinking that he has seen England. He has, in fact, seen a few public buildings, public men, and public ceremonies. But of the vast and complex system of society, of the fine shades of national character, of the practical operation of government and laws, he knows nothing. He who would understand these things rightly must not confine his observations to palaces and solemn days. He must see ordinary men as they appear in their ordinary business and in their ordinary pleasures. He must mingle in the crowds

of the exchange and the coffee-house. He must obtain admittance to the convivial table and the domestic hearth. He must bear with vulgar expressions. He must not shrink from exploring even the retreats of misery. He who wishes to understand the condition of mankind in former ages must proceed on the same principle. If he attends only to public transactions, to wars, congresses, and debates, his studies will be as unprofitable as the travels of those imperial, royal, and serene sovereigns who form their judgment of our island from having gone in state to a few fine sights, and from having held formal conferences with a few great officers.

The perfect historian is he in whose work the character and spirit of an age is exhibited in miniature. He relates no fact, he attributes no expression to his characters which is not authenticated by sufficient testimony. But, by judicious selection, rejection, and arrangement he gives to truth those attractions which have been usurped by fiction. In his narrative a due subordination is observed: some transactions are prominent; others retire. But the scale on which he represents them is increased or diminished, not according to the dignity of the persons concerned in them, but according to the degree in which they elucidate the condition of society and the nature of man. He shows us the court, the camp, and the senate. But he shows us also the nation. He considers no anecdote, no peculiarity of manner, no familiar saying, as too insignificant for his notice which is not too insignificant to illustrate the operation of laws, of religion, and of education, and to mark the progress of the human mind. Men will not merely be described, but will be made intimately known to us. The changes of manners will be indicated, not merely by a few general phrases or a few extracts from statistical documents, but by appropriate images presented in every line.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts are told to make me come to a certain conclusion. This conclusion is
3. I believe that it is the author's conclusion as well as mine; therefore, I believe his purpose was to

LESSON 8

“THE LITERATURE OF HISTORY”⁷

JOHN PENTLAND MAHAFFY

It is seldom fully appreciated, what a very large share of the world's literature is history of some sort. The primitive savage is probably the only kind of man who takes no interest in it; except it be that the memory of the dead is often carefully obliterated by him, and the names, or even words suggesting the names, of his fathers, tabooed from his speech. But as soon as a spark of civilization illumines this primitive darkness, men begin to take an interest in other men, not only beyond their own immediate surroundings, but beyond the limits of their own generation. Interest in the past and provision for the future are perhaps the essential mental differences between the civilized man and the savage.

According as this care for the past and the future increases, all literature divides itself into that which concerns the forces of nature and that which concerns the history of man. Almost all the literature of imagination starts from this latter. Epic poems profess to tell the history of heroes. Tragic poems profess to analyze their emotions at some great crisis of their lives. Lyric poems are of interest, chiefly as giving us the history of the poet's soul. Even the modern novel, which is avowedly

⁷ Reprinted from the *Universal Anthology* by permission of The Grolier Society, Inc., New York.

fictitious, must base itself upon the history of ordinary men, and borrows most of its plots from actual occurrences in their lives. The historical novel is a manifest bridge between the actual occurrences of past time, and the desire to know more of the motives, of the color, of the character of the actors, than has been handed down in contemporary documents. This kind of novel, if professorial, like the Egyptian books of Ebers, may approach the tamest record of the facts; if artistic, like those of Walter Scott, it may be almost a work of pure imagination. But the historical interest is always there, and it may be doubted whether the story of any invented being, formally divorced from the annals of known men, will ever excite the keen and permanent interest which the history of such a man as Alexander of Macedon or Napoleon will always command. The mass of fiction which gathered round the name of the former all pretends to be history; the vast libraries of Napoleonic books contain plenty of fiction; but the fiction is of little interest in comparison with the real history of that wonderful life.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts are told to make me come to a certain conclusion. This conclusion is
3. I believe that it is the author's conclusion as well as mine; therefore, I believe his purpose was to

“I WANT TO JOIN THE UNO”⁸

CARLYLE MORGAN

Dear UNO: I want to join. I am only one citizen of a country of 135,000,000. My country is a member of the United Nations Organization. That's good. But why can't I be a member, too?

* * *

Now I also know that when one begins to demand membership in an international organization of this kind for individuals, one raises all kinds of questions concerning sovereignty, the feasibility of world federation, the dangers of a world superstate, and so forth. Many people and most politicians, and even statesmen, say we are not ready for world government. Harold Stassen, who wants world government more than most people, admits this.

Well, I still want to join the United Nations Organization, and I mean as an individual.

Now right here someone says, how can you join the UNO as an individual and still fulfill your duties of citizenship in your own country? That question's worth looking at. National sovereignty means that your own government has control over your actions. It can commit you to a certain course, like going to war, or keeping you out when you want to go. You have to pay taxes and assume other obligations to your government. That's right. And I don't propose to shirk or evade any of the duties of a citizen to a sovereign state when I join the UNO. Not, at any rate, until my country says there are some areas of international life in which I may act as an international instead of a national citizen.

But that's for tomorrow, and I want to join the UNO today.

⁸ From *Reader's Scope* Magazine, April 1946. Reprinted by special permission.

Why do I want to join the UNO? Well, I remember the League of Nations. The governments were members of that. But the people were not. Their only connection with the League was through their political leaders, and if these leaders were not very interested in the League, there was no way for the people to keep a close connection with it. They could, of course, protest to their leaders, or vote them out of office. But votes are rarely cast on the basis of a single issue, especially an issue like that of supporting an international organization.

Now when I think back to League crises, I wonder if it would not have been a good thing if one section of the League of Nations—a section that never existed—had been reserved especially for membership of interested individuals. I don't mean that this would necessarily have saved the League. But it would have served as a focus for international opinion as expressed directly to the organization by individuals, instead of as interpreted to the organization by political leaders who sometimes had other things besides peace and the success of the League on their minds when they spoke. And even that would have been some gain.

But to return to UNO. If this organization is ever going to be really dependable in the sense that governments are dependable, to keep order, then it will have to have some of the important features of government. That means we are all going to have to get used to thinking of the UNO as something in which citizens as well as States have a part. How are we going to get used to it while we keep our citizens away from it and force them to work only through their separate governments?

I know that, at first, the part which individuals can play must be very small, very limited. It must not conflict with their duties as citizens of their own countries. It must not impair their national loyalty or violate national sovereignty.

But a very limited part is better than no part at all. Even if we, as individuals, were permitted only to write letters to the People's Section of the UNO, that would be something. If we could each feel we were obligated to make a direct annual finan-

cial contribution, like a dollar or a kopek, or what have you, that would be something.

* * *

Perhaps there are people who would not want to become individual members of the organization. They need not join. We who do not want to join could hold membership in national branches which would choose our representatives—maybe the Association for the United Nations could become the American branch. All this will need thought—a great deal of very expert thought. But you can depend on it—if enough of us people want to join the UNO as individuals, the experts will find a way to set up an additional section in that organization to take care of us.

The functions of the People's Section would require a great deal of thought, too. At first they could hardly be more than to publish reports on communications received, the debates of candidates for election to the People's Assembly, and perhaps a periodical. The subjects covered would have to be limited to those bearing directly on international disputes. Ideology, social questions within countries, and so forth, might have to be ignored.

I saw the Charter written at San Francisco. I am aware that dozens of pitfalls would have to be guarded against. But that is part of the experts' job. They did it at the Golden Gate. Now let them begin to do it wherever the UNO sets up shop—for a People's Section.

So am I very unreasonable when all I want to do is have some provision made for me to join the UNO in a very humble way as an individual? No one has to scrap "sovereign equality" to let me in. No one has to undo any of the work already done. Just add a wing on those new buildings that are being planned—a wing with a door that a plain man can open, and can enter and say, "I belong here." That's enough for me now. I'll let the future take care of anything else that may be on my mind. And surely I can't be the only individual who wants to join the UNO.

1. The author has told me certain facts. They are:

.....
.....
(Decided by group discussion.)

2. These facts are told to make me come to a certain conclusion.
This conclusion is

3. I believe that it is the author's conclusion as well as mine;
therefore, I believe his purpose was to

PART THREE

*The Ability to Discover Biases
in the Conclusions of
Different Authors*

LESSON 1

[Excerpt A]

“MASS MERCHANDISING”¹

J. FRANK GRIMES

Then, too, the social side of the question is more important than the economic. Even if chain stores do save pennies for consumers, does that offset their social disadvantages?

Main Street was lined with the stores of small individual merchants a few years ago. Then came a chain store, and soon others followed. After all the small retailers had been displaced and their places were taken by chain stores, the question of the savings came up at a woman's meeting. . . .

There is another tendency that is worth watching. In the last few years many of the medium-size chain-store companies have merged, or have been absorbed by others, to form larger and larger corporations. It has been predicted that in a few years there will be only three or four large chain companies in the great food industry of the country. Remember that food represents one of the largest expenditures in the family budget. It is only fair to agree with chain store men that food monopoly is impossible; but if there are only three or four large corporations

¹ From *Congressional Digest Magazine*, August-September 1930. Reprinted by special permission.

in the grocery trade, they may become so large as to be dominant price factors affecting what the producer receives and what the consumer pays.

* * *

Nothing should ever be permitted to seriously impair the making of profit and the keeping open of opportunity for young people to engage in a business of their own. The day this happens, America will take its first step backwards.

[Excerpt B]

RADIO ADDRESS²

PHILIP LIEBER

Now, the local business houses being eliminated, what happens to the army of partners and clerks and delivery men and porters? These chains, in the first place, do not deliver, and most do not credit. Here, then, are lines of work eliminated and groups of workers thrown out of employment and forced to seek what they can find. It is an actual fact that most of these outside chains are content with clerical help in office and in stores at the cheapest obtainable wage. There have been many popular salesmen and sales ladies, working in locally owned stores in any community, whose annual earnings have exceeded the salary paid to many branch chain-store managers. Therefore, in the change from the individual store to the chain, you have an army of people whose wages and income have become greatly lessened, whose ability to be self-supporting became greatly impaired, whose purchasing power is reduced to a minimum, and whose ability to lay aside anything for the proverbial rainy day is nil. Everything must be in proportion. The wages of one class of the

² From *Congressional Digest Magazine*, August-September 1930. Reprinted by special permission.

people cannot show to great a variance without affecting the earnings of other classes.

1. The author of Excerpt A has told certain facts. They are:

.....
.....
(Decided by group discussion.)

2. His conclusion is that

3. The author of Excerpt B has told certain facts. They are:

.....
.....
(Decided by group discussion.)

4. His conclusion is that

5. Therefore, these authors agree (disagree).

LESSON 2

[Excerpt A]

SPEECH IN SENATE, AUGUST 28, 1940³

SENATOR JOHN LEE

There is inherent in every government the power to supply its own needs. A government which does not have the power to supply its own needs soon fails. That means an implied power in the government, in a national crisis, to commandeer all materials, all money, all man power for the defense of the government.

What may a government take? A government may take everything it stands to lose in case it loses a war. In war, if we lost, we should stand to lose everything—all property, all liberty, and all rights. Therefore the government has inherent power to

³ From *Congressional Digest Magazine*, Vol. 19, No. 11, 1942. Reprinted by special permission.

commandeer all material, all man power, all wealth, if need be, for the defense of the country.

[Excerpt B]

SPEECH IN HOUSE, SEPTEMBER 1940⁴

REPRESENTATIVE J. E. CASEY

I find it difficult to understand the philosophy of men who also favor conscription of men, but who do not favor the conscription of recalcitrant industry. To me, that is placing property rights way above human rights. To say in one breath that we shall take human beings, we shall conscript human beings, and in another breath we shall not conscript business when it refuses to cooperate with the government is certainly insulting the dignity of human beings just as much as it is being insulted by the totalitarian leaders today.

1. The author of Excerpt A has told certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. His conclusion is that
3. The author of Excerpt B has told certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

4. His conclusion is that
5. Therefore, these authors agree (disagree).

⁴ From *Congressional Digest Magazine*, Vol. 19, No. 11, 1942. Reprinted by special permission.

[Excerpt A]

**HOUSE DEBATE,
MAY 19, 1948⁵**

REPRESENTATIVE PHILIP J. PHILBIN

... You can no more check or destroy the menace of Communism by [this] legislation than you can sweep the tide with a broomstick. Communism is an idea, and, as has been well said here, an idea cannot be killed by fiat. Prison walls cannot kill an idea. An idea can be checked and destroyed only by combating it with an idea which is better, more constructive, more responsive to the public conscience and the public welfare.

The concept of outlawing a political philosophy is not only without precedent in the history of this government, but it is antagonistic to long established principles of representative democratic government as exemplified by the Constitution.

I am as much opposed to Communism as any man in this body. But I cannot subscribe in conscience to this violation of the letter and spirit of constitutional democracy. American citizens have the right to embrace any political philosophy they desire, the right to express their opinions and views and to advocate their enactment into law. They have the right to form and join political parties for any legitimate purpose. If, in this process, they engage in international conspiracies endangering the national security, if they advocate overthrow of the government by force, we have laws on the statute books to visit them with appropriate punishment. If persons violate the laws in their political activities, let them be punished in the ways and means provided by existing laws against treason, sedition, obstruction of justice, and many other statutes, state and federal, which

⁵ From *Congressional Digest Magazine*, October 1949. Reprinted by special permission.

enable this government to protect itself against organized violence, espionage, treason, sedition, and the like.

* * *

I cannot discuss the bill in detail. It is a mélange of unconstitutional concepts. It is a tissue of repression and violation of fundamental constitutional rights so dear to every American. It seethes with totalitarian evils it presumes to banish. . . .

[Excerpt B]

HOUSE DEBATE, MAY 19, 1948⁶

REPRESENTATIVE WINT SMITH

Communism grows like the dry rot in a tree. The tree appears to be a big, fine tree. You admire its shape, size and enjoy its nice, cool shade. Then, one day, a severe windstorm suddenly comes up and your tree is blown down. You discover that the inside wood, covered over by the bark, is rotten and does not have the strength to stand a hard wind. Communism can do the same to us. Do not believe the Communists are out in the open—they are covered up by the pinkish bark of fringe organizations . . .

Much of the propaganda that is flooding America, in the churches, schools, labor unions, and the so-called “do-good” front organizations, all use this liberal doctrine. And always they conclude their statements about the blessings of a controlled economy.

* * *

I fully believe that the passage of this bill into law will aid materially in helping to stamp out Communism in this country.

⁶ From *Congressional Digest Magazine*, October 1949. Reprinted by special permission.

1. The author of Excerpt A has told certain facts. They are:
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(Decided by group discussion.)
2. His conclusion is that
3. The author of Excerpt B has told certain facts. They are:
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(Decided by group discussion.)
4. His conclusion is that
5. Therefore, these authors agree (disagree).

LESSON 4

[Excerpt A]

TESTIMONY TO EQUAL RIGHTS SUB-COMMITTEE, SEPTEMBER 18, 1945⁷

NINA HORTON AVERY

Although women hold the bulk of the investment of the country, three states still prohibit a wife from engaging in independent business and keeping her earnings from it unless her husband gives his consent. . . . In six states a wife cannot convey her separate real estate unless her husband joins her, although there is no similar restriction on the husband. . . .

Discriminations involve not merely the business and property rights of women, but also the private relationship and family status. . . . Further, in fourteen states the husband may be granted a divorce for his wife's unchaste character without

⁷ From *Congressional Digest Magazine*, December 1946. Reprinted by special permission.

corresponding remedy to the wife. Although women were given the right to vote by the Nineteenth Amendment, seventeen states have not yet permitted them to serve on juries.

. . . Congress had to pass special legislation establishing the WAC, the Waves, the Spars, and women marines; to permit the commissioning of women doctors, a special law had to be enacted; all because women are not "persons" under the Constitution. The United States Supreme Court has twice handed down such a decision.

. . . Already now are appearing in newspaper ads of "help wanted" a higher rate of pay for men than for women for identical work. . . .

Americans proudly boast of their belief in democracy; they have gloriously demonstrated their willingness to fight throughout the world for the principle of equality. Yet until there is established equality before the law for women, we will continue to have only a demi-democracy. A law which applies to one group of citizens differently from another group is not a democratic law. . . .

[Excerpt B]

"WHY I AM AGAINST THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT"⁸

ALICE HAMILTON, M.D.

. . . No woman wants to have her rights denied or abridged. The amendment seems to open a closed door, to clear away difficulties that have been in her path. Perhaps she is working in an office where some man, not nearly so efficient and conscientious as she, has a higher place, just because he is a man. Perhaps she is a physician who, because she is a woman, cannot get on the staff of a hospital. Perhaps she is a teacher who knows

⁸ Reprinted by special permission from the *Ladies' Home Journal*. Copyright, 1945. The Curtis Publishing Company.

that when the principal retires she would get his place if she were a man, but no matter how much she deserves it she will be by-passed and a man put in. . . .

These women see in the amendment a means of wiping away all such sex discriminations; they see themselves placed on a real equality with men. But are these hopes justified? . . . I do not think so, and I will tell you why.

No law can compel a man to employ a woman or to promote her, no law can compel a hospital to place women doctors on its staff or to admit them as interns and residents, no law can prevent an employer from passing by a competent woman and appointing a less competent man. These are matters which lie outside the domain of law; they are decided by men who are often swayed by the old prejudices, the instinctive inhibitions and compulsions which centuries have implanted in us. I do not mean that these obstacles cannot be overcome; the history of the past century shows how far the emancipation of women has advanced already, but the advance cannot be brought about by law, by compulsion. Only the slow growth of a genuine feeling of sex equality can bring it about; but surely when we see the attitude of the young generation we cannot fail to be heartened by the striking signs of increasing equality between the sexes.

1. The author of Excerpt A has told certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. Her conclusion is that

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(Decided by group discussion.)

4. Her conclusion is that

5. Therefore, these authors agree (disagree).

LESSON 5

[Excerpt A]

ADDRESS ON 75th BIRTHDAY, AUGUST 10, 1949⁹

HERBERT HOOVER

... It is customary to blame the administrations or the legislatures for this gigantic increase in spending these levies on the nation's workdays (twenty-four days work per year of Mr. Average citizen is the cost) and this ride to a dead end of our unique and successful American system. A large cause of this growing confiscation of the work of the people by our various governments is the multitude of great pressure groups among our citizens. Also, the state and municipal governments pressurize the Federal Government, and within the federal government are pressure groups building their own empires.

Aggression of groups and agencies against the people as a whole is not a process of free men. Special privilege either to business or groups is not liberty. Many of these groups maintain paid lobbies in Washington or in the state capitals to press their claims upon the administrations or the legislatures.

Our representatives must run for election. They can be defeated by these pressure groups. Our officials are forced to think in terms of pressure groups, not in terms of need of the whole people.

Perhaps some of my listeners object to somebody else's pressure group. Perhaps you support one of your own. Perhaps some of you do not protest that your leaders are not acting with your authority.

Think it over.

Thinking and debate on these questions must not be limited to legislative halls. We should debate them in every school. We

⁹ From *Congressional Digest Magazine*, September 1950. Reprinted by special permission.

should resort to the old cracker barrel debate in every corner grocery. There, phrases and slogans can be dissolved in common sense and integrity. . . .

[Excerpt B]

SPEECH BEFORE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK, 1949¹⁰

LOUIS WIRTH

. . . We are told that what we are abandoning is the principle of self-help. But what is self-help in a society as intricate as ours? What are the masses of urban dwellers to do when misfortune befalls them? Are they to take the next subway to the suburbs, hew the logs for their buildings and fuel, shoot the bison that roam the suburban plains? Are the farmers to pump oil for their tractors out of their oil wells in their fields? And are the white collar workers to take in one another's washing of white collars?

Whether it is called the New Deal or the Fair Deal, our national policy may henceforth be described rightly as the Welfare State. But what is wrong with the Welfare State, besides, as some newspaper editor said, "I know I don't like it!" What is a more legitimate function of the community than to maintain and enhance the welfare of its people? We are not at the end of that era; we are at the threshhold of new responsibility. . . .

1. The author of Excerpt A has told certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

¹⁰ From *Congressional Digest Magazine*, September 1950. Reprinted by special permission.

2. His conclusion is that
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5. Therefore, these authors agree (disagree).

LESSON 6

[Excerpt A]

ON FEDERAL SUBSIDIZING OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS¹¹

REPRESENTATIVE ESTES KEFAUVER

There are great inequalities in the earning ability of the states to pay for education. These inequalities have been relatively constant for many decades. Furthermore, the states with the least economic ability to raise public revenues have many more children in proportion to adult population than the richer states. . . .

In 1943 the per capita income in California was \$1,429; in Tennessee, \$649; in West Virginia, \$688. The number of children five to seventeen years old per 1,000 population in 1943 in California was 172; in Tennessee, 249; in West Virginia, 281 . . .

These facts mean that in order to raise the same amount of money per child of school age in 1943, West Virginia would have had to make about three and one-half times as much effort and Tennessee about three times as much effort as would California. . . .

* * *

¹¹ From *Congressional Digest* Magazine, February 1946. Reprinted by special permission.

The bugaboo of federal control of schools should not be permitted longer to deny adequate educational opportunity to several million of our nation's children. We can have federal aid without federal control. To deny that we can is to deny the successful operation of our form of government.

* * *

I, for one, believe that the school teachers of America are the first and chiefest servants of the nation, and that the laborer is worthy of his hire. Federal aid is necessary to adequate remuneration of our teachers.

[Excerpt B]

APPEARING BEFORE SENATE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR¹²

ALVIN A. BURGER

Some advocates of greater spending for public education are inclined to measure the adequacy of the service by the amount of dollars spent, and they assume too readily, I think, that a school district spending twice as much per pupil as some other district has a school system which is twice as good.

We are not convinced that the children of Iowa or Nebraska are being educated only half as well as those of New York or New Jersey. In fact, we wonder just how wide a gap, if any, exists between any of these four states in the essential quality of school services rendered.

* * *

We propose, therefore, if federal aid to maintain minimum standards of education is found necessary, a much more modest appropriation be provided, and the formula be revised so as to

¹² From *Congressional Digest Magazine*, February 1946. Reprinted by special permission.

preclude all but the states actually demonstrably in need from sharing in it.

* * *

The bill itself contains at least one stipulation which deeply concerns New Jersey and must concern many other states equally as much. I refer to the condition imposed in Section 6, to the effect that no funds will be allotted to a state when it reduces its outlay for school purposes below the amount expended in 1944. If this provision doesn't hamstring local and state governments in the exercise of their budget-making powers, I don't know what would.

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LESSON 7

[Excerpt A]

SPEECH BEFORE NATIONAL TAX ASSOCIATION, 1942¹³

SENATOR ROBERT A. TAFT

In my own opinion, the best way to reach the lower income group in a fair way is the sales tax. The superiority of the sales

¹³ From *Congressional Digest Magazine*, December 1943. Reprinted by special permission.

tax lies in the fact that it does reach everybody in the United States no matter what his income may be, and that it is a simpler tax. Basically, in a sales tax, the government does business with two million retailers instead of doing business with fifty million taxpayers.

The differences in burden, of course, depend entirely upon the rate. Under a sales tax, I have always advocated the exemption of food sold in stores. . . .

Of course, I don't like a sales tax as a peace tax. I don't think it is a desirable tax in peacetime, because it does tax the poor when it isn't necessary. It is said to be a regressive tax. I don't agree. It is regressive if taken by itself only; but if you combine a sales tax with a highly graduated income tax, there is nothing regressive about it.

[Excerpt B]

APPEARING BEFORE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS, 1943¹⁴

PHILIP MURRAY

We are absolutely and unalterably opposed to the imposition of any sales tax. The sales tax is directed at the low-income group. It is the worker and his family that spend practically all of their money just to keep themselves alive. They are to have their full income, in effect, taxed under the most vicious type of tax legislation. High income groups that spend only a portion of their income for food, clothing, or other necessities are to have just that small percentage taxed, whereas the rest of their income may be continued to be amassed for further concentration of wealth in their hands. In peacetime a sales tax is vicious

¹⁴ From *Congressional Digest Magazine*, December 1943. Reprinted by special permission.

enough, but in wartime, when we are trying to assure our war workers of sufficient funds to maintain themselves, the proposed sales tax levy would be the equivalent of a military defeat.

A sales tax is an imposition of a national wage-cut bearing most heavily on the low-income groups. . . .

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LESSON 8

[Excerpt A]

“OUR MOST DANGEROUS LOBBY”¹⁵

REPRESENTATIVE CHRISTIAN A. HERTER

During the recent session of Congress our federal bureaucracy revealed itself as the most powerful, and potentially the most dangerous, lobby of all. It fought, bureau by bureau, every Congressional move to curb its innate urge to expand. Backed by its vast tax supported propaganda machine and working through jobholders, supported also by well meaning but misin-

¹⁵ From *Reader's Digest Magazine*, September 1947. Reprinted by special permission.

formed citizens, it mustered almost overwhelming pressure for its continued growth. As weapons, it used distortion, misrepresentation, and outright chicanery. It completely ignored the law which makes it illegal for individual federal employees to try to influence legislation by Congress.

* * *

The Post Office Department asked Congress this year for an increase in funds over last year's all-time high. The House, after extended hearings, voted to pare down this increased total by less than one per cent. An amazing coast-to-coast reaction was immediately set off.

Streamliner headlines in a Boston newspaper announced: "Post Office lays off 600 Veterans." All were described as disabled men. For the seriously curtailed service which resulted the Boston postmaster publicly blamed "lack of appropriation caused by the failure of Congress to pass the deficiency bill."

. . . There were similar episodes in a dozen states. Again, thousands of citizens, deliberately misled, berated members of Congress by mail, wire, and telephone.

* * *

Fully as disturbing as these unjustifiable stratagems was the apparent ease with which large numbers of well-meaning citizens were taken in by exaggerations, half-truths, and misstatements and enlisted in bureaucracy's fight against Congressional curbing.

* * *

Congress has the specific responsibility to put some limit to the expansion of bureaucracy and thereby to curb the growth of Big Government. The recent session provided ominous evidence of the powerful resistance which bureaucracy can bring against Congress' effort to discharge this responsibility. Whether that resistance will be successfully surmounted will depend upon the American people: whether they are willing to support, not hamper, the attempt which has just begun to put our government house in sounder order.

[Excerpt B]

TESTIMONY BEFORE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON LOB- BYING, 1950¹⁶

ROGER W. JONES

In the age in which we live, with the increasing complexity in all of our ways of life, I think we will all agree we have also had increasing complexity in the field of government and field of legislation which the Congress and even state legislatures and town councils, for that matter, have been called upon to enact.

I think it is fair to say that as a result the technical administrative agencies, that is, agencies which carry out the government programs enacted by the legislative bodies, have come to be called upon more and more to assist in one part, at least, of the legislative process, and that is the process of legislative drafting, the reduction to language of the legislative intent.

Certainly in the Seventy-ninth, Eightieth and Eighty-first Congresses we have seen many, many cases and an increasing number of cases in which a committee of the Congress has asked for specific drafting help from the executive agencies.

* * *

Undoubtedly, that involves activities which can properly be construed as attempts to influence the Congress. Insofar as they relate to activities here in town, I believe I know quite a bit about them. I can say with full honesty that in connection with anything which has ever gone through our offices I have never seen what I consider to be an improper effort to influence the Congress.

With respect to responsibilities and activities that are carried on outside of Washington, I frankly know nothing. I have never had such an assignment. . . .

¹⁶ From *Congressional Digest Magazine*, May 1951. Reprinted by special permission.

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(Decided by group discussion.)
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5. Therefore, these authors agree (disagree).

LESSON 9

[Excerpt A]

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, OCTOBER 11, 1929¹⁷

SENATOR THOMAS J. HEFLIN

The home is the bedrock upon which the Republic rests. Here is Communism rampant in our country, and yet some do not want to do anything to suppress it. It is true, we have grown to be a powerful and prosperous people; but it has been the history of every great nation of the earth that in their search for wealth they have neglected the search for idealism and lost sight of right principles and spiritual values. Cults of various kinds spring up; they organize; they work quietly; and when trouble is least expected it breaks upon us. These pernicious doctrines have a hold in the country that we know nothing about because we have been too busy searching after dollars and

¹⁷ From *Congressional Digest Magazine*, February 1930. Reprinted by special permission.

dimes, too busy to stop and find out what is going on in the civic household of the nation.

I do not propose that any amendment to the tariff bill shall pass, if I can prevent it, that will permit this country to become the dumping ground of all the unfit literature of the earth to come in here to be studied by our boys and girls, to give them wrong ideas of government, to exalt in their minds the principles of anarchism and of communism. I want to protect the young men and the young women of America from floods of literature of that kind.

But when it comes to the fruits of this deadly literature that is already coming in, when murder grows out of it, when the doctrine of the black shirts of Italy is spreading over the land, when various "isms" are coming in that one day will rise up to hound us and to threaten us by their strength in this Republic, here is an opportunity; the hour has struck when we can put a stop to the coming in of literature that poisons the mind of the citizen to be and sows dragon's teeth in the path of the Republic.

[Excerpt B]

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD,
OCTOBER 11, 1929¹⁸

SENATOR MILLARD E. TYDINGS

I do not think that the Senate is any better able, or any customs inspector is any better able, to say what is right and what is wrong than are the great masses of the American people. This thing of taking one or two men and placing them upon God's altar, where they can decree what is and what is not righteousness, is certainly contrary to every decent instinct of a democratic government.

¹⁸ From *Congressional Digest Magazine*, February 1930. Reprinted by special permission.

I have more faith in the American people than to believe for one instant that the importation of a few magazines which might be questioned is going to drag them down into hell and damnation. We make mountains out of molehills. Who is the man who reads the books down in the Treasury Department? Has Almighty God endowed him with any more mind than any other people? How does he get, in this democratic government, the right of censorship?

* * *

As pointed out, a professor of literature over at Johns Hopkins University wishing to bring in a very rare book, of which there are only a few in print, to teach to his class, had the humiliation of having a customs inspector bar that book at the port of entry, New York. Does the man who said that book was immoral have any more intelligence or any more right to say what should be or should not be taught to the students in Johns Hopkins University than has the professor who is charged with the duty of building up their education, telling them of the events of the past, how men live, what the weaknesses of other governments were, and other governments' strong points?

We often hear it said that the decline of Rome was due to thus and so. How in the world are we ever to know what tore down the Roman Empire, which lasted for nearly five hundred years, without men reading the truth about it and having the truth, being in a position to take action by this government to prevent a recurrence here?

I am not afraid to change this form of government if, after the people have all the facts, they find that they think another form of government is better. This idea of being wedded to precedents, which may impress mankind simply because they are precedents, does not appeal to me. Intelligence is on the other side of the argument.

1. The author of Excerpt A has told certain facts. They are:

(Decided by group discussion.)

2. His conclusion is that
3. The author of Excerpt B has told certain facts. They are:
.....
.....
(Decided by group discussion.)
4. His conclusion is that
5. Therefore, these authors agree (disagree).

PART FOUR

*The Ability to Find Inaccuracies
and Omissions in the Writings
of Authors*

If we are to find inaccuracies and omissions in the writing of authors, we must develop certain abilities. First, and foremost, we must learn to judge whether or not the author has proved his point. We must acquire a scientific method of discovering whether or not this point has been proved. We call this main point the author's premise. By analyzing the paragraphs we find out whether this premise has been proved.

Second, we must cultivate the ability to test the author's premise in the light of other knowledge that we possess, so as to see whether certain necessary facts have been omitted deliberately.

This technique is tremendously important. It helps us to judge what we read—to judge whether it is true, or whether deliberately misrepresented. The technique we use in judging material presented to us is as follows:

1. We state the author's premise.
2. We consider facts contained in the excerpt that are relevant to the premise.
3. We draw conclusions from these facts.
4. We test our conclusions by continued investigation—by drawing on other knowledge that we possess.

We know that newspapers and magazines, in quoting a writer, often reprint only a small portion of what he has written. It is interesting to see, as a final step in our analysis, whether the newspaper or magazine can change the author's meaning by the omission of certain sentences or paragraphs.

DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE

No free communities ever existed without morals; and, as I observed in the former part of this work, morals are the work of woman. Consequently, whatever affects the condition of women, their habits and their opinions, has great political importance in my eyes. Amongst almost all Protestant nations young women are far more the mistresses of their own actions than they are in Catholic countries. This independence is still greater in Protestant countries like England which have retained or acquired the right of self-government; the spirit of freedom is then infused into the domestic circle by political habits and by religious opinions. In the United States the doctrines of Protestantism are combined with great political freedom and a most democratic state of society; and nowhere are young women surrendered so early or so completely to their own guidance.

Long before an American girl arrives at the age of marriage, her emancipation from maternal control begins: she has scarcely ceased to be a child when she already thinks for herself, speaks with freedom, and acts on her own impulse. The great scene of the world is constantly open to her view: far from seeking concealment, it is every day disclosed to her more completely, and she is taught to survey it with a firm and calm gaze. Thus the vices and dangers of society are early revealed to her; as she sees them clearly, she views them without illusions, and braves them without fear, for she is full of reliance on her own strength, and her reliance seems to be shared by all who are about her. . . .

In France, where remnants of every age are still so strangely mingled in the opinions and tastes of the people, women commonly receive a reserved, retired, and almost conventional education, as they did in aristocratic times; and then they are suddenly abandoned, without a guide and without assistance, in the midst of all the irregularities inseparable from democratic

society. The Americans are more consistent. They have found out that in a democracy the independence of individuals cannot fail to be very great, youth premature, tastes ill-restrained, customs fleeting, public opinion often unsettled and powerless, paternal authority weak, and marital authority contested. . . .

. . . As they could not prevent her virtue from being exposed to frequent danger, they determined that she should know how best to defend it. And more reliance was placed on the free vigor of her will than on safeguards which have been shaken or overthrown. Instead, then, of inculcating mistrust of herself, they constantly seek to enhance their confidence in her own strength of character. As it is neither possible nor desirable to keep a young woman in perpetual or complete ignorance, they hasten to give her a precocious knowledge on all subjects. Far from hiding the corruptions of the world from her, they prefer that she should see them at once and train herself to shun them; and they hold it of more importance to protect her conduct than to be overscrupulous of her innocence.

1. Statement of the author's premise (the large statement) :
"In the United States the doctrines of Protestantism are combined with great political freedom and a most democratic state of society; and nowhere are young women surrendered so early or so completely to their own guidance."
2. Consideration of relevant facts (facts pertaining to the large statement) :
"No free communities . . . own guidance."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
"Long before . . . about her."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
"In France . . . contested."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

"As they could not prevent . . . innocence."

- a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

3. Drawing conclusions from facts:

My conclusion from this summary is that the author did (did not) prove his premise.

4. Testing conclusions by continued investigation:

- a.) This was written over a hundred years ago. Are Tocqueville's observations still true today?
- b.) What proof do you have of their continuing truth?

LESSON 2

VAGABONDING THROUGH CHANGING GERMANY¹

HARRY A. FRANCK

On the conduct of the war there was as nearly unanimity of [German] opinion as on its genesis. "The Russians and the French, secretly sustained by England, invaded Germany first. William"—they call him that almost as often as the Kaiser now—"who was the only important ruler who had not declared war in more than forty years, gave them twelve hours to desist from their designs; they refused, and the war went on. Had we planned to go to war we should certainly have passed the tip to the millions of Germans in foreign lands in time for them to have reached Germany. You yourself have seen how they poured down to the ports when they heard of the Fatherland's danger, and how regretfully they returned to their far-off duties when it became apparent that England was not going to let them come home. Then we went through Belgium. We should

¹ Published by the Century Co., copyright, 1925. Reprinted by special permission.

not have done so, of course, but any people would have done the same to protect its national existence. Besides, we offered to do so peacefully; the stubborn Belgians would not have suffered in the slightest. And Belgium had a secret treaty with the Entente that would have permitted them to attack us from that side . . .” and so on.

1. Statement of the author's premise (the large statement):
“ ‘The Russians and the French . . . invaded Germany first.’ ”
2. Consideration of relevant facts (facts pertaining to the large statement):
“ ‘The Russians . . . went on.’ ”
 - a.) Is this section composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this section help bear out the premise? How?
“ ‘Had we planned . . . come home.’ ”
 - a.) Is this section composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this section help bear out the premise? How?
“ ‘Then we went . . . that side.’ ”
 - a.) Is this section composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this section help bear out the premise? How?
3. Drawing conclusions from facts:
My conclusion from this summary is that the author did (did not) prove his premise.
4. Testing conclusions by continued investigation:
 - a.) Read about the causes of World War I in a few history books, and compare notes with this excerpt.
 - b.) Read “Young Germany Speaks,” in the *Ladies' Home Journal* of June 1951. Try to discover whether the picture changed much between 1920 and 1951.

THE CITIZEN OF THE WORLD

OLIVER GOLDSMITH

Among all the famous sayings of antiquity, there is none that does greater honor to the author, or affords greater pleasure to the reader (at least if he be a person of a generous and benevolent heart), than that of the philosopher who, being asked what countryman he was, replied that he was "a citizen of the world." How few are there to be found in modern times who can say the same, or whose conduct is consistent with such a profession! We are now become so much Englishmen, Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Spaniards, or Germans, that we are no longer citizens of the world; so much the natives of one particular spot, or members of one petty society, that we no longer consider ourselves as the general inhabitants of the globe, or members of that grand society which comprehends the whole human kind.

Did these prejudices prevail only among the meanest and lowest of the people, perhaps they might be excused, as they have few, if any, opportunities of correcting them by reading, traveling or conversing with foreigners; but the misfortune is that they infect the minds, and influence the conduct, even of our gentlemen; of those, I mean, who have every title to this appellation but an exemption from prejudice, which, however, in my opinion, ought to be regarded as the characteristical mark of a gentleman; for let a man's birth be ever so high, his station ever so exalted, or his fortune ever so large, yet, if he is not free from national and other prejudices, I should make bold to tell him that he had a low and vulgar mind, and had no just claim to the character of a gentleman. And, in fact, you will always find that those are most apt to boast of national merit, who have little or no merit of their own to depend on; than which, to be sure, nothing is more natural: the slender vine twists around the sturdy oak, for no other reason in the

world but because it has not strength sufficient to support itself.

Should it be alleged in defense of national prejudice that it is the natural and necessary growth of love to our country, and that therefore the former cannot be destroyed without hurting the latter, I answer that this is a gross fallacy and delusion. That it is the growth of love to our country, I will allow; but that it is the natural and necessary growth of it, I absolutely deny. Superstition and enthusiasm, too, are the growth of religion; but who ever took it in his head to affirm that they are the necessary growth of this noble principle? . . .

Is it not very possible that I may love my own country without hating the natives of other countries? That I may exert the most heroic bravery, the most undaunted resolution, in defending its laws and liberty, without despising all the rest of the world as cowards and poltroons? Most certainly it is; and if it were not—But why need I suppose what is absolutely impossible?—But if it were not, I must own I should prefer the title of the ancient philosopher, viz., a citizen of the world, to that of an Englishman, a Frenchman, a European, or to any other appellation whatever.

1. Statement of the author's premise (the large statement) :
We are no longer the general inhabitants of the globe, but natives of one particular spot.
2. Consideration of relevant facts (facts pertaining to the large statement) :
“Among all . . . human kind.”
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

“Did these prejudices . . . support itself.”

 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

“Should it be alleged . . . noble principle?”

 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

"Is it not very possible . . . whatever."

- a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

3. Drawing conclusions from facts:

My conclusion from this summary is that the author did (did not) prove his premise.

4. Testing conclusions by continued investigation:

a.) Goldsmith wrote this in 1762, almost two hundred years ago. In these two hundred years the world has become more nationalistic (more "one world").

b.) Prove the correctness of your choice.

LESSON 4

THE HISTORY OF ROME

THEODOR MOMMSEN

The great problem of mankind, how to live in conscious harmony with himself, with his neighbor, and with the whole to which he belongs, admits of as many solutions as there are provinces in Our Father's Kingdom; and it is in this, and not in the material sphere, that individuals and nations display their divergencies of character.

That Hellenic [Greek] character, which sacrificed the whole to its individual elements, the nation to the single state, and the single state to the citizen; whose ideal of life was the beautiful and the good, and, only too often, the pleasure of idleness; whose political development consisted in intensifying the original individualism of the several centers, and subsequently led to the internal dissolution of the authority of the state; whose view of religion first invested the gods with human attributes, and then denied their existence; which gave full play to the limbs in the sports of the naked youth, and gave free scope to thought in all its grandeur and in all its awfulness; and that Roman character which solemnly bound the son to reverence

the father, the citizen to reverence the ruler, and all to reverence the gods; which required nothing and honored nothing but the useful act, and compelled every citizen to fill up every moment of his life with unceasing work; which made it a duty even in the boy to cover the body modestly; which deemed everyone a bad citizen who wished to be different from his fellows; which viewed the state as all in all, and a desire for the state's extension as the only aspiration not liable to censure.

Thus the two nations in which the civilization of antiquity culminated, stand side by side, as different in development as they were in origin identical. The points in which the Hellenes excel the Italians are more universally intelligible, and reflect a more brilliant luster; but the deep feeling in each individual, that he was only a part of the community, a rare devotedness and power of self-sacrifice for the common weal, an earnest faith in its own gods, form the rich treasure of the Italian nation. Wherever in Hellas a tendency towards national union appeared, it was based not on elements directly political, but on games and art; the contests at Olympia, the poems of Homer, the tragedies of Euripides, were the only bonds that held Hellas together. Resolutely, on the other hand, the Italian surrendered his own personal will for the sake of freedom, and learned to obey his father that he might know how to obey the state. Amidst this subjection individual development might be marred, and the germs of fairest promise might be arrested in the bud; the Italian gained in their stead a feeling of fatherland and of patriotism such as the Greek never knew, and alone among all civilized nations of antiquity, succeeded in working out national unity in connection with a constitution based on self-government—a national unity which at last placed in his hands the mastery not only over the divided Hellenic stock, but over the whole known world.

1. Statement of the author's premise (the large statement) :

"The great problem of mankind, how to live in conscious harmony with himself, with his neighbor, and with the whole to which he belongs, admits of as many solutions as there are provinces in Our Father's Kingdom; and it is in this, and

not in the material sphere, that individuals and nations display their divergencies of character."

2. Consideration of relevant facts (facts pertaining to the large statement) :

"That Hellenic . . . liable to censure."

- a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

"Thus the two nations . . . the whole known world."

- a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

3. Drawing conclusions from facts:

My conclusion from this summary is that the author did (did not) prove his premise.

We have considered only the first three paragraphs; the excerpt continues as follows:

Freedom and discipline are the essential factors in every scheme of government. The secret of prosperity lies in the creation of an equilibrium between the two. The higher the civilization, the closer will be the approximation to a perfect poise. Greece became powerful by the temporary co-operation of the different entities of her population. Rome conquered the world by the permanent concentration of all individual energy in the cause of the state. But when Greek liberty became license, Greece fell; and when Roman discipline degenerated into tyranny, the Roman empire came to an end.

1. Statement of the author's premise (the large statement) :
"Freedom and discipline are the essential factors in every scheme of government."
2. Consideration of relevant facts (facts pertaining to the large statement) :
"Freedom . . . came to an end."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

3. Drawing conclusions from facts:

My conclusion from this summary is that the author did (did not) prove his premise.

Consideration of inaccuracies and omissions:

Having considered both parts of the excerpt, I have reached this further conclusion: omission of the second part of the excerpt would (would not) change the author's message.

There has been considerable discussion in recent years on two important ideas contained in this excerpt. The first is, of course, the contrast between the importance of the individual, as portrayed by Greece, and the importance of the state, as portrayed by Rome. Modern terms of democracy versus fascism could be used. The second is the feeling that there has been growing laxness and immorality in modern democracies. What are your thoughts on these two points? What recent facts can you use to prove your conclusion?

LESSON 5

“THE END OF THE JUNKER CLASS”²

FELIX E. HIRSCH

... But in spite of all the military glory, all the promotions and decorations, some of the more far-sighted Junkers sensed the coming catastrophe. Therefore, the list of those who organized and executed the plot of July 1944, included a high percentage of aristocrats, and they went to the gallows for their cause. May it be said here in memory of these courageous men that Prussian Junkers have acted ruthlessly on many occasions, but that their traditional code of honor with its religious background naturally made most of them averse to the outrages of Nazi barbarism.

² From *Current History* Magazine, February 1946. Reprinted by special permission.

Now their day in history is over. As we mentioned earlier, few of the Junkers waited on their estates for the Russians to arrive. Some who had planned to stay seem to have run into trouble with their farm personnel. We have a report from Mecklenburg (which used to be even more firmly in the hands of the Junkers than was the eastern half of Prussia), that most of the remaining estate owners were killed in a peasant revolt following the Nazi collapse. After the Junkers had disappeared, voluntarily or otherwise, the Russian-controlled provincial governments in Brandenburg, Saxony, and Mecklenburg (East Prussia and Silesia, the other areas with many large estates, had been annexed by Poles and Russians anyhow) began their agrarian reforms last Fall. Estates exceeding 250 acres were broken up. Peasant families owning less than about 12 acres became eligible to receive parcels from the Junker estates under rather favorable conditions. In the province of Saxony, e.g., the land is to be paid for in money or kind at the rate of one-year's production for each $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres, according to a report from Gladwin Hill, correspondent of *The New York Times* in Berlin. By the end of one year 10 per cent must be paid down except in cases of hardship; the balance will fall due over a period of ten to twenty years. The recipient cannot sell, subdivide, lease, or mortgage the land thus received. Livestock is divided proportionally and machinery is to be put in a pool similar to those customary in Soviet agriculture. Both in Saxony and Mecklenburg, the forests formerly owned by Junkers were parceled out to small farmers; only about one-third was preserved as community property. There cannot be any doubt that a thorough job has been done throughout the Russian zone. Richard R. Kasischke, Associated Press staff correspondent who recently toured the Soviet-held area of occupation, was able to report on December 26, 1945, that actually 7,000 Junker estates had been split up among 281,155 new holders; they received from 12 to 19 acres each, according to his source of information. He also confirms the division of tools and livestock which took place on the estates.

1. Statement of the author's premise (the large statement) :
The Junkers were ruthlessly discriminated against.
2. Consideration of relevant facts (facts pertaining to the large statement) :
"But in spite . . . barbarism."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?"Now . . . on the estates."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
3. Drawing conclusions from facts:
My conclusion from this summary is that the author did (did not) prove his premise.

We have considered only two paragraphs; the article continues as follows:

Agrarian feudalism, not only in Germany, but on the whole European continent, is gone. As the Junker moves from the sphere of reality into the mausoleum of history, we can speak about him from a more detached point of view. Where there were so great faults, there were also some virtues. Nobody has pictured the more pleasant traits of the Junker character in such appealing fashion as did Theodor Fontane, Germany's greatest novelist of the later nineteenth century, in many of his best loved works. The present writer, from his own contacts with cultured Prussian noblemen, would be inclined to share Fontane's mellow view of the better Junker elements, but, as a student of German history, he cannot shed any tears about the disappearance of this ruling class. The few thousand Junker families keeping tight control of Prussia's army and administration bear the chief responsibility for the fact that Germany was never able to catch up with the spirit of the western democracies, in spite of all the technical progress she made. If it had not been for the selfishness and narrow-mindedness of this retarding social element, modern ideals might have prevailed in Germany at the turn of

the century and the world might have been spared unending turmoil.

1. Statement of the author's premise (the large statement):
The Junkers were one of the main causes of Germany's collapse.
2. Consideration of relevant facts (facts pertaining to the large statement):
"Agrarian . . . turmoil."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
3. Drawing conclusions from facts:
My conclusion from this summary is that the author did (did not) prove his premise.

Consideration of inaccuracies and omissions:

Having considered both parts of the excerpt, I have reached this further conclusion: omission of the second part of the excerpt would (would not) change the author's message.

LESSON 6

"YOUNG KANSAS EDITOR"³

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

The campaign of 1896, in which I had a minor and not particularly creditable part, for I only aroused bad blood and bitter feeling, was the first national campaign in the United States in which the debtors were for the most part on one side and the creditors on the other. No one can doubt that labor sympathized with Bryan, even though it was persuaded, more or less with crass coercion, to vote against him. It was our first class election. McKinley's victory was due to the fact that he could unite to a political solidarity the American middle class.

³ From the *Atlantic Monthly* Magazine, March 1946. Reprinted by special permission.

In Emporia, the day after election, the Populists and Democrats, for all their county and state victories, were sad, disgruntled, and discouraged. I felt at once that the pressure of opposition to me, to which I was extremely sensitive, for all the success of my editorial, "What's the Matter with Kansas?", was relieved overnight. It was then in their national victory that the Republicans of our town rallied to me. As a national figure, I had their respect, and my ancient competitor, Governor Eskridge, who had before McKinley's nomination been a free-silver leader, could not quite claim a share in the Republican victory.

1. Statement of the author's premise (the large statement):
The author [William Allen White] was glad of a Republican victory in 1896.
2. Consideration of relevant facts (facts pertaining to the large statement):
"The campaign . . . middle class."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?"In Emporia, . . . victory."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?
3. Drawing conclusions from facts:
My conclusion from this summary is that the author did (did not) prove his premise.

We have considered only two paragraphs; the article continues as follows:

All of which was rather unfair, for I am sure the Governor, despite his free-silver heterodoxy, was at heart a better, more loyal party man than I. For in my heart partisanship, in the sense that it really governs men's thinking and directs their conduct, to me seemed always a political folly. I have always believed that parties are but a means to an end. A good partisan believes that partisanship is an end in itself. Nevertheless, I

crowded editorially in the election for my party, and was much more bitter on our editorial page than I was in my heart. Probably my bitterness was to convince myself that I was right. But it did not work. Politically I was a poor sinner in the temple, wearing the broad phylacteries of a Pharisee and ashamed of my pride.

Perhaps if I had known the real significance of that election, perhaps if I had realized that it was the beginning of a long fight for distributive justice, the opening of a campaign to bring to the common man—the man lacking the acquisitive virtues, the man of one talent—a larger and more equitable share in the common wealth of our country, I should have been more consciously ashamed of my political attitude than I was. For I was constitutionally and temperamentally, by blood and inheritance on both sides of my family, a friend of the underdog.

But, somehow, in those days I was blind to the realities. My college education, my reading in sociology and in science, to keep abreast and be worthy of fellowship with Vernon Kellogg, did not teach me to see the truth all about me in those days of the middle nineties. I saw the mange on the underdog and did not realize its cause. Perhaps if Bryan had won and the underdog had been fed up a little and had been top dog, I should have respected him more heartily. I wonder. I doubt it. Perhaps I shrink from the truth even now, looking at those days across the years.

1. Statement of the author's premise (the large statement):
". . . it was the beginning of a long fight for distributive justice, the opening of a campaign to bring to the common man . . . a larger and more equitable share in the common wealth of our country. . . ."
2. Consideration of relevant facts (facts pertaining to the large statement):
"All of which . . . pride."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

“Perhaps . . . the underdog.”

a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?

b.) How can you prove they are facts?

c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

“But, somehow, . . . the years.”

a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?

b.) How can you prove they are facts?

c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

3. Drawing conclusions from facts:

My conclusion from this summary is that the author did (did not) prove his premise.

Consideration of inaccuracies and omissions:

Having considered both parts of the excerpt, I have reached this further conclusion; omission of the second part of the excerpt would (would not) change the author's message.

LESSON 7

“IS MANKIND COHESIVE?”⁴

CARYL P. HASKINS

Only two great groups of animals, men and ants, indulge in highly organized mass warfare—warfare on so wide a scale that the geographic configuration of the earth becomes a factor in their operations. When the little “harvesting” ant *Pheidole Megacephala*, for instance, spread out from its original home in the equatorial deserts of the Old World on a campaign of world conquest, it soon reached Bermuda, traveling as an unbidden guest on the trading ships of man. In Bermuda its plan to exterminate the native ants would have done credit to Pizarro or Cortes. Confining itself at first to the salt-sprayed regions of the coral beaches, where any native ant would have perished, *Pheidole* built up a solid ring of occupation about the island.

⁴ From the *Atlantic Monthly*, March 1946. Reprinted by special permission.

Then, foot by foot and year by year, it narrowed the circle, battling its way into the cedar groves and the upland swarded hills, exterminating community after community of the native ants until its particular enemy, the large but primitive *Odontomachus*, has now all but disappeared and *Pheidole* is to be found everywhere the conqueror.

* * *

Only men and ants keep slaves, but the institution of slavery has been much more highly developed by ants than by men. Among the slave-makers of the genus *Polyergus*, for example, the mistresses are no longer able even to feed themselves without the assistance of the slaves, and will starve in the midst of plenty if the slaves are removed. The excavation and architecture of the nest, the care of the young, all the essential activities of colonial life, are left entirely to the slaves. The mistresses confine themselves to warfare and plunder, and in these functions they have become highly accomplished.

Only men and ants domesticate other animals on a wide scale and keep them for practical purposes or even, so far as we can judge, for the mere attractiveness of the association. Aphids or plant lice, plant scales, leaf-hoppers and brownie-bugs, the caterpillars of certain butterflies—all are nourished and assiduously tended by ants for the secretions which they produce, and certain of them are as carefully and widely cultivated as are our own cattle. More than two thousand other species of insects and related invertebrates are known to live habitually in the nests of various ants—some purely as parasites like rats in human communities; some as indifferent cohabitants, like the street pigeons of our great cities; and some as carefully tended “pets.”

Only certain social ants and bees, wasps, and termites exhibit the devotion to particular groups within the community that the people of absolute monarchies have characteristically bestowed upon their royalty. The queen honeybee, the queen Army ant, and the kings and queens of termite colonies are alike surrounded by hordes of attendants during every moment of their long lives, and are fed, cleaned, and guarded without cessation. At first glance there appear to be striking similarities

between the communal life of highly social insects and that of man.

1. Statement of the author's premise (the large statement):
"At first glance there appear to be striking similarities between the communal life of highly social insects and that of man."
2. Consideration of relevant facts (facts pertaining to the large statement):

"Only two . . . conqueror."

a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?

b.) How can you prove they are facts?

c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

"Only men . . . highly accomplished."

a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?

b.) How can you prove they are facts?

c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

"Only men . . . 'pets.' "

a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?

b.) How can you prove they are facts?

c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

"Only certain . . . man."

a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?

b.) How can you prove they are facts?

c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

3. Drawing conclusions from facts:

My conclusion from this summary is that the author did (did not) prove his premise.

We have considered only four paragraphs; the article continues as follows:

It would be hard to imagine creatures more different in basic bodily structure, in senses, in quality of mentality, in background of experience, than man and the social insects. How could such different organisms fail to erect vastly divergent societies, especially when some of the consequences of these differences are borne in mind? How could the societies of man the mechanic, skilled in the use of tools, approach in any respect the com-

munities of insects, only one of which, the solitary wasp *Ammophila*, is known customarily to use a tool at all, and this but a simple pebble to tamp the loose earth about a newly excavated burrow?

How could societies with no resources for the accumulation of experience through the generations except the slow processes of instinct, with only the most rudimentary and the most inflexible modes of communication, approach in any way the communities of man, close-knit by the spoken and the written word? The very difference in size of man and his communities, relative to the earth, would seem to make his situation not comparable with that of the social insects.

It is clearly fallacious to assume that such close parallels in such fundamentally different societies will allow of reasoning from direct analogy. Rather, they are of great significance as indicators of the much deeper underlying common features characteristic of earthly life *per se*—potentialities for development which are common to men and bees and ants and termites, and which were common, too, to the simpler life-forms that in ancient times connected them in evolution. These similarities between animals that are merely the end-points of divergent evolutionary paths are the indicators—the tips of the floating iceberg, so to speak—from which we may guess at the hidden, binding bulk beneath. In order to get at the heart of the question, we must seek further, must search for our material in those characteristics common to all life.

The first of these forces is manifest in a continuing tendency of life to evolve from simpler to more complex forms. I speak of it as a “force” or a “trend” simply for lack of anything better to call it or any clearer understanding of its nature. I have traced this trend, as we find it in bacteria, cellular colonies, and animal societies, in my article “The Social Animal” which appeared in the February *Atlantic*. It is difficult to see that this widespread evolutionary trend to complexity is governed in any way by the need of survival of the species exhibiting it.

The second influence which has molded the course of the evolution of societies is the trend to form well-integrated, highly

coordinated, streamlined individuals from the primitive loose associations that are characteristic of early societies. This pressure to streamlining, to internal integration, would seem to follow from the action of conventional natural selection which tends to weed out the inept, the ill-coordinated, the unfit.

It is a disturbing picture upon which to reflect in relation to man. For this, of course, is precisely the ideology of the totalitarian state; and for the totalitarian philosopher the picture I have drawn is ammunition of the most plausible and the most valuable kind. Throughout Nature, there is marked evidence that all social organizations at the beginning of their evolution were loose associations of individuals of a democratic character, and that such associations clearly fared badly in evolution and tended to change over into the highly regimented form which is the successful type today. It is logical to conclude that people of democratic ideals are merely trying to halt the social evolution of man early on its road, and at a particularly unfavorable point, while the totalitarians are trying to speed it on to its natural and obviously happy conclusion. This is a serious reflection, indeed, for the biological evidence is weighty, and it must be answered.

1. Statement of the author's premise (the large statement) :

"Throughout Nature, there is marked evidence that all social organizations at the beginning of their evolution were loose associations of individuals of a democratic character, and that such associations clearly fared badly in evolution and tended to change over into the highly regimented form which is the successful type today."

2. Consideration of relevant facts (facts pertaining to the large statement) :

"It would be hard . . . burrow?"

a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?

b.) How can you prove they are facts?

c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

"How could . . . insects."

a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?

b.) How can you prove they are facts?

c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

"It is clearly . . . all life."

- a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

"The first . . . exhibiting it."

- a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

"The second . . . the unfit."

- a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

"It is a disturbing . . . answered."

- a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

3. Drawing conclusions from facts:

My conclusion from this summary is that the author did (did not) prove his premise.

Consideration of inaccuracies and omissions:

Having considered both parts of the excerpt, I have reached this further conclusion: omission of the second part of the excerpt would (would not) change the author's message.

LESSON 8

"FIGHTING FOR WHOM?"⁵

The afternoon was warm and clear, and the inevitable loungers were draped in grotesque indolence on the knife-scared park benches.

A little crowd of curious idlers had gathered around the old man. He was gaunt and unkempt and of indeterminate age. His chin was covered with a stubby growth of graying whiskers, and his yellowed teeth gleamed in irregular sequence through

Tobacco Stain lips as he talked.

⁵ From *Reader's Scope* Magazine, August 1945. Reprinted by special permission.

tobacco-stained lips as he talked. His bony hands, blue-veined and soiled, gestured erratically to emphasize his almost hysterical words.

"It's the Jews," he shouted. "The Jews brought on this war and it's them we're fightin' for . . . the capitalistic, money-grabbin' Jews . . . they control the guv'mint . . . they own the banks . . . they run the papers, and it's them our boys is dyin' for." His voice rose shrilly as he paused in his harangue. His watery eyes shifted from face to face as he studied the reaction of his auditors.

The old man shifted his tobacco and spat into the park grass before he renewed his ~~Continued~~ oratorical attack. He raised his hand with fist clenched, ~~menacingly~~, "The Jews," he began once more and then he hesitated as his eyes turned to the approaching figure of a big sailor ~~shuffling~~ slowly down the gravel walk.

The sailor's face was lined, and a noticeable pallor had diffused the deep tan that once had marked the outlines of his jumper. A campaign ribbon with two battle stars was outlined against his blue-clad chest.

The speaker waited until the sailor had limped nearer, and then he spoke. "Ain't you boys fightin' this war for the Jews? Ain't they to blame for the sufferin' and the bloodshed, and the broken homes?"

The sailor stopped and a ~~half~~-smile played over his face. His left hand—the one which held the cane—twitched nervously, and his eyes burned with fierce intensity as he replied.

"Yes," he said slowly, "we're fighting for the Jews. You're right, Mister." With unsteady hands the sailor lit a cigarette. Then through a cloud of white smoke he continued: . . .

1. Statement of the author's premise (the large statement):
"The Jews brought on this war . . . ?"
2. Consideration of relevant facts (facts pertaining to the large statement):
"The afternoon . . . benches."
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

“A little crowd . . . words.”

- a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

“‘It’s the Jews,’ . . . auditors.”

- a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

“The sailor’s . . . chest.”

- a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

“The speaker . . . homes?”

- a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

“The sailor . . . replied.”

- a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

“‘Yes,’ . . . continued:”

- a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

3. Drawing conclusions from facts:

My conclusion from this summary is that the author did (did not) prove his premise.

We have considered only the beginning; the story continues as follows:

“I thought about that out yonder,” and he nodded his head toward the Pacific. “I studied it all out, and there’s no doubt at all in my mind. We’re fighting it for the Jews and the Irish and the Dutch and the Negroes. We’re fighting it for every American, no matter what his race, color, or creed. We’re fighting it for every decent-thinking person on earth, whether we like his speech or the shape of his nose or not.” Again he paused and the little group of men watched him closely.

"I reckon," he went on, "that people who talk like you're talking don't believe in the same kind of American that I'm fighting for. I guess they've forgotten what Abraham Lincoln said about all men being created equal. I suppose they want to create racial hatred and factional strife and to foment more wars and bloodshed. I just reckon, Mister," he continued, "that you ain't my kind of American."

An angry flush had colored the leathery neck of the old man and he looked with scorn on the sailor.

"Jew lover!" he screamed. "You might even be one of them yourself. I'll bet that's what you are . . . a Jew . . . a Jew!"

Carefully the sailor turned on his injured leg. He gave the old man a level glance, and smiled as he replied.

"No," he said, "I'm not Jewish. At least I don't think I am. My name," he continued, "is Michael O'Grady, and, Mister, I forgot to add awhile ago, as much as I hate to admit it, we're fighting this war for you, too."

~~He limped painfully on down the walk.~~

1. Statement of the author's premise (the large statement) :

"We're fighting it [the war] for every American, no matter what his race, color, or creed."

2. Consideration of relevant facts (facts pertaining to the large statement) :

"I thought . . . closely."

a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?

b.) How can you prove they are facts?

c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

"I reckon, . . . American."

a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?

b.) How can you prove they are facts?

c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

"An angry . . . replied."

a.) Are these paragraphs composed of facts?

b.) How can you prove they are facts?

c.) Do these paragraphs help bear out the premise? How?

"No, . . . down the walk."

a.) Are these paragraphs composed of facts?

b.) How can you prove they are facts?
c.) Do these paragraphs help bear out the premise? How?

3. Drawing conclusions from facts:

My conclusion from this summary is that the author did (did not) prove his premise.

Consideration of inaccuracies and omissions:

Having considered both parts of the excerpt, I have reached this further conclusion: omission of the second part of the excerpt would (would not) change the author's message.

LESSON 9

“DOORBELL DEMOCRACY”⁶

PHILIP J. DODGE

A surprised St. Louis housewife stared blankly at the pleasant-faced high school student who had rung her doorbell.

“Good morning,” the youth said, politely. “Are you going to vote for the new state constitution?”

“Why no,” was the stammered reply, “that is—I haven’t thought much about it.”

“I’d like to tell you why you should vote for it, and why it’s a good thing for the state and for your family,” said the student, producing some leaflets. Five minutes later he went to the next doorbell.

Young hands rang hundreds of doorbells, passed out thousands of pieces of literature, and the new constitution won through easily in Missouri. Hardboiled politicians admitted grudgingly that “the school kids” had helped a lot to put it over.

The lesson for sprawling cities like St. Louis, for quiet suburban towns, for little farm communities is not that Missouri passed its constitution, but that “the kids” helped. For the St. Louis high and parochial school students didn’t campaign

⁶ From *Reader’s Scope* Magazine, November 1945. Reprinted by special permission.

for the constitution solely because their schools wanted them to. They went out to promote the constitution because they had studied it thoroughly. They were sold on it—and on the necessity of convincing their neighbors to adopt it. They were practicing citizenship at the grass roots level much more effectively than most of the St. Louis adults.

St. Louis school authorities deserve credit for their experiment in making democrats with a small “d.” They proved that given a chance youth wants to work effectively at being citizens.

It's odd that we who believe so thoroughly in democratic practices are often so slipshod in giving young folks the know-how of democracy at work, and helping them to get out and try it.

1. Statement of the author's premise (the large statement):
“. . . given a chance, youth wants to work effectively at being citizens.”
2. Consideration of relevant facts (facts pertaining to the large statement):
“A surprised . . . doorbell.”
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?“‘Good morning,’ . . . doorbell.”
 - a.) Are these paragraphs composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Do these paragraphs help bear out the premise? How?“Young hands . . . put it over.”
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?“The lesson . . . adults.”
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?“St. Louis . . . citizens.”
 - a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
 - b.) How can you prove they are facts?
 - c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

"It's odd . . . try it."

- a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

We have considered only the first part; the article continues as follows:

We know what we mean by democracy in thought and action. We mean a lively interest in—and participation in—building a peaceful, secure world, and a healthy respect for the needs, rights, and human qualities of our neighbors of every race and creed. But do we teach it at home and in school?

Some schools stress student control of classroom affairs, urge students to conduct election campaigns for their own officers. Quite a few have stressed the contribution of various national and racial groups to our history and culture. Many bring alive our democratic traditions and culture in motion pictures, dramatizations, assemblies; most schools study current events and the sweep of democratic forces all over the world. But far too many schools and colleges still lack close contact with the community—the root of our democracy.

Some colleges—again, far from enough—have learned the value of making conscious democrats. West Georgia College, for example, sends its faculty and students out into Carroll County's rural communities to learn what the people are thinking and doing about problems like soil conservation, nutrition, cooperatives. They listen, and they conduct forums, help the people where they know how, with health clinics, suggestions based on theoretical knowledge that the people can put into practice. West Georgia's students are being democrats where it counts—right in their home county, where many of them will continue to live. There should be many more such colleges.

We and our local communities, our state, and our nation pay the price for neglecting to teach practical democracy in home, school, church, and other community groups. We pay in widespread civic apathy, and lack of understanding of vital

issues. Primaries arouse slight interest, elections often little more. Too often we lack the insight and compelling desire to find our way through tangled issues and make our voices heard. The fault lies in the traditional failure to stir youth to an early grasp of what to do about economic, social, and political affairs, and how to live as conscious citizens of home, community, nation, and world.

1. Statement of the author's premise (the large statement):
We and our local communities, our state, and our nation pay the price for neglecting to teach practical democracy in the home, school, church, and other community groups.
2. Consideration of relevant facts (facts pertaining to the large statement):

“We know . . . school?”

- a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

“Some schools . . . democracy.”

- a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

“Some colleges . . . colleges.”

- a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

“We and . . . nation, and world.”

- a.) Is this paragraph composed of facts?
- b.) How can you prove they are facts?
- c.) Does this paragraph help bear out the premise? How?

3. Drawing conclusions from facts:

My conclusion from this summary is that the author did (did not) prove his premise.

Consideration of inaccuracies and omissions:

Having considered both parts of the excerpt, I have reached this further conclusion: omission of the second part of the excerpt would (would not) change the author's message.

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